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SPECIMENS

OF

English Prose-Writers,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY,

WITH

SKETCHES BIOGRAPHICAL AND LITERARY,

INCLUDING

AN ACCOUNT OF BOOKS

AS WELL AS OF THEIR AUTHORS;

WITH

OCCASIONAL CRITICISMS, &c.

BY GEORGE BURNETT,
Late of Baliol College, Oxford.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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SPECIMENS, &c.

Edward VI.

SPECIMENS, &c.

EDWARD VI.

THE reign of Edward VI. is remarkable for the establishment of the reformation. This great event, so beneficial to the interests of humanity, served only to clog the progress of elegant literature, and to postpone the reign of taste. The objects of study were now entirely changed. The breaking up of the old religion split the world into a variety of different and hostile sects. The bible being open to the people, every man, whether learned or unlearned, was eager to familiarise himself with its contents, and ambitious of commenting and illustrating it. All were absorbed in religious speculations. Europe exhibited but one

scene of polemical warfare; and the talents of mankind were monopolized by theological contention. The topics which now kindled the ardour of the most accomplished scholars, were enquiries into the practices and maxims of the primitive ages; the nature of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction; the authority of scripture and tradition; of popes, councils, and schoolmen—topics, which, from prejudice and passion, as well as from their want of philosophic habits of discussion, they were unable to treat with precision.

One of the first effects of the reformation was, that the revenues of the clergy were seized under pretence of zeal for religion. Even the students of the universities were deprived of their exhibitions and pensions; so that Roger Ascham complains, in a letter to the marquis of Northampton, dated 1550, that the grammar schools throughout England will be ruined; and that the universities themselves must speedily become extinct. At Oxford, both professors and pupils deserted the schools; and academical degrees were abolished as antichristian. The reformers, not content with cleansing christianity from catholic corruptions, carried their absurd refinements so far as to

assert the inutility of all human learning; and thus reformation degenerated into fanaticism. In this enlightened spirit of innovation, these zealous advocates for apostolic simplicity and primitive ignorance, at a visitation of the university of Oxford, stripped the Humphredian library of all its books and MSS. many of which were utterly destroyed, and among the rest, a great number of classics, condemned as antichristian.

Yet, notwithstanding these untoward circumstances, the reformation was an event perhaps more auspicious to human improvement than any which adorns the annals of time. It produced, beyond all other causes that can be imagined, intellectual activity, the harbinger of free enquiry—the only sure cause of the progress of society. A change of manners in the church was the instantaneous result. The clergy, unable to prevail by force, were compelled to try argument; and their state of brutal ignorance vanished. The learned order of jesuits, who succeeded the friars as champions of the papal hierarchy, undoubtedly sprang from the reformation; and thus Rome had once more its age of learning.

This general state of intellectual excitement,

however unfavourable, in the first instance, to that department of literature commonly stiled the *Belles Lettres*, was eventually conducive to the advancement of every kind of learning. The minds of men were awake and active; and required only to be favoured by their political condition, to exert some of the highest efforts of intellect. Of this remark we shall have ample proof when we come to the reign of Elizabeth.

BISHOP GARDINER.

A MOST determined enemy to the reformation, was Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England, born about 1483, at Bury St. Edmund's, in Suffolk. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he distinguished himself by his knowledge of Greek, for his promptitude in writing and speaking Latin, and for his talents in general. He subsequently confined his studies almost exclusively to the civil and canon law, in which sciences he took the degree of doctor in 1521. His reputation at the university recommended him to the notice of the duke of Norfolk, and particularly to Cardinal Wolsey, who took him into his house. From this situation he gradually rose to the high station which he ultimately filled. In 1531, he was consecrated bishop of Winchester. On the disgrace of Cromwell he was elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge; and on the accession of

queen Mary, in 1553, was declared chancellor of England. He died in 1555.

Gardiner, from his talents, his age, and authority, was the most formidable opposer of the reformation. He was willing to submit to the ecclesiastical model established by Henry VIII. whose wisdom and learning he was forward to extol; but was afraid to allow, and therefore strenuously opposed all further innovation. The attack on the popish superstitions was now begun by the protestants from various quarters. Ridley, bishop of London, afterwards fellow martyr with Latimer, in a sermon preached before the court at the commencement of this reign, boldly attacked the use of images and holy water; superstitions which were defended by Gardiner, in a letter written to Ridley in consequence of that sermon. I shall extract certain parts of this long letter as a specimen of the bishop's manner, as likewise, of the opinions common in that age. The letter is preserved in Foxe's Acts and Monuments, and is by no means marked by that absurdity, which the nature of the subject would seem to indicate.

Master Ridley, after right hearty commendations, it chanced me upon Wednesday last past, to be pre-

sent at your sermon in the court, wherein I heard you confirm the doctrine in religion, set forth by our late sovereign lord and master, whose soul God pardon, admonishing your audience, that ye would specially travail in the confutation of the bishop of Rome's pretended authority in government and usurped power, and in pardons, whereby he hath abused himself in heaven and earth. Which two matters I note to be plain, and hear without controversy. In the other two ye spake of, touching images and ceremonies; and as ye touched it, specially for holy water to drive away devils, for that you declared yourself always desirous to set forth the meer truth, with great desire of unity as ye professed, not extending any your asseveration, beyond your knowledge; but always adding such like words (as far as ye had read) and if any man could shew you further, ye would hear him (wherein you were much to be commended)—Upon these considerations, and for the desire I have to unity, I have thought myself bound to communicate to you that which I have read in the matter of images and holy water; to the entent you may by yourself consider it, and so weigh, before that ye will speak in those two points, as ye may (retaining your own principles) affirm still that ye would affirm, and may indeed be affirmed and maintained, wherein I have seen other forget themselves.

First, I send unto you herewith (which I am sure ye have read) that Eusebius writeth of images, whereby appeareth, that images have been of great antiquity in Christ's church. And to say we may have images, or to call on them when they represent Christ or his saints, be over gross opinions to enter into your learned head, whatsoever the unlearned would tattle. For you know the text of the old law, —*non facies tibi sculptile*,—forbiddeth no more images now, than another text forbiddeth to us puddings. And if *omnia* be *munda mundis*, to the belly, there can be no cause why they should be to themselves, *impura* to the eye, wherein ye can say much more. And then when we have images, to call them idols, is a like fault in fond folly, as if a man would say, *(regem)* a tyrant, and then bring in old writers to prove, that *tyrannus* signified once a king, like as *idolum* signified once an image. But like as *tyrannus* was, by consent of men, appropriate to signify an usurper of that dignity, and an untrue king; so hath *idolum* been likewise appropriate to signify a false representation and a false image: insomuch as there was a solemn anathematization of all those that would call an image an idol; as he were worthy to be hanged that would call the king our master (God save him) our true just king, a tyrant; and yet in talk he might shew, that a tyrant signified sometime a king. But speech is regarded in his present

signification, which I doubt not ye can consider right well.

I verily think that for the having of images, ye will say enough, and that also, when we have them, we should not despise them in speech, to call them idols, *ne* despise them with deeds, to mangle them or cut them, but at the least suffer them to stand untorn. Wherein Luther (that pulled away all other regard to them) strove stoutly and obtained (as I have seen in divers of the churches in Germany of his reformation) that they should (as they do) stand still.

All the matter to be feared is, excess in worshipping, wherein the church of Rome hath been very precise; and specially Gregory, writing *Episcopo Mastilien;* which is contained, *de consecratio.* Distinct. 3. as followeth:—

Perlatum ad nos fuerat, quod inconsiderato zelo succensus sanctorum imagines, sub hac quaque excusatione ne adorari debuissent, confregeris; et quidem eas adorare vetuisse omnino laudamus, fregisse vero reprehendimus. Die frater, a quo factum esse sacerdote aliquando auditum est, quod fecisti? Aliud est enim picturam adorare, aliud per picturam historiam, quid sit adorandum, addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc et idiotis præstat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa ignorantes vident quid sequi debeant in ipsa legunt qui literas nesciunt. Nude et præcipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est.

Herein is forbidden adoration, and then *in sexto synodo* was declared what manner of adoration is forbidden, that is to say, godly adoration to it, being a creature; as is contained in the chapter, *venerabiles imagines*, in the same distinction in this wise.

Venerabiles imagines christiani, non deos, appellant; neque serviunt eis ut Diis, neque spem salutis ponunt in eis, neque ab eis expectant futurum judicium, sed ad memoriam et recordationem primitivorum venerantur eas et adorant, sed non serviunt eis cultu divino, nec alicui creaturæ.

By which doctrine, all idolatry is plainly excluded in evident words. So as we cannot say that the worshipping of images had his beginning by popery: for Gregory forbad it, unless we shall call that synod popery, because there were so many bishops. And there is forbidden *cultus divinus*, and agreeth with our aforesaid doctrine, by which we may creep before the cross on Good Friday, wherein we have the image of the crucifix in honour, and use it in a worshipful place, and so earnestly look on it, and conceive that it signifieth, as we kneel and creep before it, whiles it lieth there, and whilst that remembrance is in exercise; with which cross nevertheless, the sexton when he goeth for a corse, will not be afraid to be homely, and hold it under his gown, whiles he drinketh a pot of ale; a point of homeliness that might be left; but yet it declareth that he

esteemed no divinity in the image. But ever since I was born, a poor parishioner, a layman, durst be so bold at a shift (if he were also church-warden) to sell to the use of the church at length, and his own in the mean time, the silver cross on Easter Monday, that was creeped unto on Good Friday. In specialties, there have been special abuses; but generally, images have been taken for images, with an office to signify an holy remembrance of Christ and his saints. And as the sound of speech uttered by a lively image, and representing to the understanding, by the sense of hearing godly matter, doth stir up the mind, and therewith the body, to consent in outward gesture of worshipful regard to that sound; so doth the object of the image by the sight, work like effect in man, within and without, wherein is verily worshipped that we understand; and yet reverence and worship also shewed to that, whereby we attain that understanding, and is to us in the place of an instrument; so as, it hath no worship of itself, but remaineth in his nature of stone or timber, silver, copper, or gold.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Now will I speak somewhat of holy water, wherein I send unto you the four and thirtieth chapter in the ninth book of the history *Tripartite*, where Marcellus the bishop bad Equitius his deacon to cast abroad water by him first hallowed, wherewith to

drive away the devil. And it is noted how the devil could not abide the virtue of the water, but vanished away. And for my part, it seemeth the history may be true: for we be assured by scripture, that in the name of God, the church is able and strong to cast out devils, according to the gospel, *in nomine meo dæmonia ejiciunt*, &c. So as if the water were away, by only calling on the name of God that mastery may be wrought. And the virtue of the effect being only attributed to the name of God, the question should be only, whether the creature of water may have the office to convey the effect of the holiness of the invocation of God's name.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

A man might find some youngling percase, that would say, how worldly, wily, witty bishops have inveigled simple things heretofore; and to confirm their blessings, have also devised how kings should bless also, and so authority to maintain where truth failed; and I have had it objected to me, that I used to prove one piece of mine argument ever by a king, as when I reasoned thus:—if ye allow nothing but scripture, what say you to the king's rings? But they be allowed; *ergo*, somewhat is to be allowed besides scripture. And another; if images be forbidden, why doth the king wear St. George on his breast? But he weareth St. George on his breast; *ergo*, images be not forbidden. If saints be not to

be worshipped; why keep we St. George's feast? But we keep St. George's feast, *ergo*, &c. And in this matter of holy water, if the strength of the invocation of the name of God, to drive away the devils, cannot be distribute by water; why can it be distribute in silver; to drive away diseases, and the dangerous disease of the falling evil. But the rings hallowed by the holy church may do so; *ergo*, the water hallowed by the church may do like service. These were sore arguments in his time, and I trust be also yet, and may be conveniently used, to such as would never make an end of talk, but rake up every thing that their dull sight cannot penetrate; wherein, methought, ye spake effectually, when ye said, men must receive the determination of the particular church, and obey where God's law repugneth not expressly. And in this effect, to drive away devils, that prayer and invocation of the church may do it, scripture maintaineth evidently; and the same scripture doth authorise us so to pray, and encourageth us to it. * * * *

Albeit there hath been between you and me no familiarity, but contrariwise, a little disagreement (which I did not hide from you), yet considering the fervent zeal ye professed to teach Peter's true doctrine, that is to say, Christ's true doctrine, whereunto ye thought the doctrine of images and holy water, to put away devils agreed not, I have willing-

ly spent this time to communicate unto you my folly (if it be folly) plainly as it is, whereupon ye may have occasion the more substantially, fully, and plainly, to open these matters for the relief of such as be fallen from the truth, and confirmation of those that receive and follow it, wherein it hath been ever much commended, to have such regard to histories of credit, and the continual use of the church, rather to shew how a thing continued from the beginning, as holy water and images have done, may be well used, then to follow the light rash eloquence, which is ever *ad manum*, to mock and improve that is established, &c. &c.

Your loving friend,

STEPHEN WINCHESTER.

The public character of bishop Gardiner is well known. In a personal view, he was a man of considerable learning and talents; but, though his sentiments were, in some respects, of a liberal cast, his temper was haughty, ambitious, and cruel. Though a great persecutor of heretics, and the principal instrument of queen Mary's cruelties, it appears that he considered religion merely as an engine of state, and used it only for his selfish and ambitious purposes.

THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND.

ONLY four copies of this very curious work were known to be extant till Dr. Leyden published his excellent edition in 1801. It has been attributed to Wedderburn and to sir James Inglis, on insufficient authority. Dr. Leyden supposes sir David Lindsay was the author. All that is certain is, that it was written in 1548.

The extract is remarkable, as containing a greater number of imitative words than can be found elsewhere. As the book is in the Scottish dialect, there would be a singular impropriety in much changing the orthography.

There eftir I heard the rumour of *rammasche*[1] foulis and of beystis that made grite *beir*[2], quhilk past beside burnis and boggis on green bankis to seek their sustentation. Their brutal sound did redond to

[1] collected, Fr. *ramasse.* [2] a shrill noise.

the high skyis, quhil the deep *hou*[1] cauernis of *cleuchis*[2] and rotche craggis ansuert vitht ane high note of that samyn sound as thay beystis hed blauen. It aperit be presumyng and presuposing, that blaberand eccho had been hid in ane *hou* hole, cryand hyr half ansueir, quhen Narcissus rycht sorry socht for his saruandis, quhen he was in ane forrest, far fra ony folkis, and there efter for love of eccho he drounit in ane drau vel. Nou to tel treutht of the beystis that maid *sic beir*, and of the dyn that the foulis did, ther syndry soundis hed nothir temperance nor tune. For fyrst furtht on the fresche fieldis the nolt maid noyis vitht mony loud *lou*. Baytht horse and meyris did *fast nee*, and the folis *neckyr*. The bullis began to *bullir*, quhen the scheip began to *blait*, because the calfis began till *mo*, quhen the doggis *berkit*. Than the suyne began to *quhryne* quhen thai herd the asse *tair*, quhilk *gart*[3] the hennis *kekkyl* quhen the cokis *creu*. The chekyns began to *peu* when the gled quhissillit. The fox followit the fed geise and gart them cry *claik*. The gayslingis cryit *quhilk quhilk*, and the dukis cryit *quaik*. The *ropeen* of the rauynis *gart* the cras *crope*. The huddit crauis cryit *varrok varrok*, quhen the suannis murnit, because the gray goul mau pronosticat ane storme. The turtil began for to *greit*, quhen the cuschet *zoulit*. The titlene fol-

1 hollow. 2 *cloughs*, deep valleys or ravines in the hills.
3 forced, caused.

lowit the *gvilk*,[1] and *gart* hyr sing *guk guk*. The *dou*[2] *croutit* hyr sad sang that soundit lyik sorrou. Robeen and the litil oran var hamely in vyntir. The jargolyne of the suallou *gart* the jay *angil*[3], than the meveis maid myrtht, for to mok the merle. The laverok maid melody up hie in the skyis. The nychtingal al the nycht sang sueit notis. The *tuechitis*[4] cryit *theuis nek*, quhen the piettis *clattrit*. The *garruling* of the stirlene *gart* the sparrou *cheip*. The lyntquhit sang counterpoint quhen the oszil *zelpit*. The grene serene sang sueit, quhen the gold spynk *chantit*. The *rede schank*[5] cryit *my fut my fut*, and the *oxee*[6] cryit *tueit*. The herrons gaif ane vyild skrech as the kyl hed bene in fyir, quhilk *gart* the quhapis for fleyitnes fle far fra hame.

[1] cuckoo. [2] dove. [3] jangle. [4] lapwing. [5] fieldfare. [6] small hedge sparrow.

SIR WILLIAM BARLOWE.

Sir William Barlowe was a descendant of the ancient family of the Barlowes in Wales, and born in the county of Essex. He was at first a monk in the Augustine monastery of St. Osith in Essex; and was educated at Oxford, where he took the degree of doctor in divinity. He was afterwards friar of the canons of his order at Bisham in Berkshire; though at the dissolution of the monasteries, he resigned his house, and prevailed upon several other abbots and friars to follow his example.

He was promoted successively to the sees of St. Asaph, St. David's, Chichester, and finally to that of Bath and Wells. He died in 1568.

Sir William Barlowe was the author of several compositions; as "The Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man," commonly called the "Bishop's Book;" 1537, London.

During this reign, he is said to have translated into English the "Apocrypha," as far as the Book of Wisdom. But the work whence I have taken the following short extracts is entitled—"A Dialogue describing the original ground of these Lutheran factions, and many of their abuses. Compiled by Sir William Barlowe chanon, late bishop of Bath. Anno 1553." A MS. note adds—"Mariæ I. the second edition (which appears by the preface). This author sir William Barlowe was first bishop of St. Asaph, then bishop of St. David's, then bishop of Chichester, lastly bishop of Bath and Wells. In Edward VI. days began heresy, and in queen Elizabeth's days established."

There can be no question that this is the doctor William Barlowe of the Biog. Brit.; and it is as certain, that that article is very erroneous. For, it is there stated, and likewise in Dr. Rees's new Cyclopedia on that authority, that upon Mary's accession in 1553, he was deprived of his bishopric of Bath and Wells, and committed to the Fleet prison, on account of his attachment to the protestant religion, and his being married; but escaping to Germany, that he remained there till the

accession of Elizabeth; when he returned, and was then promoted to the see of Chichester, 1559. Now, here is an attack upon the reformation, published for the second time by sir William Barlowe, the very year when he is said to be degraded and imprisoned as a reformer himself. The book is a remarkably good one; by no means superstitious, but quite the work of a sensible and *prudent* man; arguing against the reformation, from the excesses of the reformers; just as such a man, ten years ago, would have written about the French. As it is evident that neither the writer of Barlowe's article in the Biographia, nor his copyist in the Cyclopedia, has seen the book in question, it is proper to observe that it is in the possession of Mr. Southey. This is one instance, among many others, in which bibliology corrects an error in biography. This little book is probably very scarce. Indeed, the author himself might have wished to suppress it: for having resolved to swim with the stream, he resigned his house to Henry VIII. took an active part in the divorce, and was rewarded with one of the new bishoprics.

The Printer's Preface.

In the present treatise following (gentle reader) is not only uttered and disclosed the beastly beginning of Luther's furious faction, in Saxony, with the seditious schisms of the sacramentaries Suinglius, Oecolampadius, and other of Switzerland; but also very plainly here is shewed their monstrous manners and mutability, their cankered contentions and horrible hypocrisy, their devilish devices and bitter blasphemy, with infinite like reliques of that railing religion, whereby the christian reader shall right well perceive what filthy fruit buddeth out of this frantic fraternity and sinful synagogue of Satan, infernally invented, to seduce simple souls——to the end that such as now be addict to their horrible and heinous heresies when they shall perceive and see in their life and learning their crafty and colourable juggling, lewd living, and devilish disagreeing of a muster of monstrous married monks and false fleshly friars, shall by God's grace both forsake their fashions, detest their doctrine, and leave their learning.

Popery has seldom had an abler, and never a more temperate advocate.

Christian readers, I exhort you, all partially set

a part to fix yourself upon the living word of God which may save your souls, and walk directly after it, bowing neither on the one side nor on the other. I mean not that fleshly word nor their gospel which say, ye have no free will, your good deeds shall not save you, nor your ill deeds shall not damn you; the sacraments of the church be nothing of necessity; ye need not to be confessed to a friar; ye are not bound to obey the laws of the church, &c.; but that true word of God and very gospel of our Saviour Christ, of whose first sermon the ante-theme was this, do ye penance for the kingdom of God is at hand: and at his last farewel from his disciples he affirmed the same, saying, that in his name it behoved penance to be preached in remission of sins.

Reformation.

A great occasion why that many be so fervent in favouring this Lutheran doctrine, is the vague praises of much people coming from thence, reporting that there is so good order, such charitable liberality, and evangelic conversation, which is altogether false. And divers of such tiding-carriers, lest they might seem ignorant in a few things, they frame themselves without shame to lie in many. It is hard for a renegate friar, a faithless apostate, a forlorn

coopeman, a merchant's prentice, or an ambassador's hostler, having little learning, less discretion, small devotion, and *scant* a curtesy of wisdom, to make true report in such matters. And yet are there of them which make themselves full busy, and are as ready to tell that they know not, as that that they know, according as they feel their affections disposed whom they covet to please; by which means they attain high commendations, made much of, and are called pretty wise men and proper persons, with many God's blessings upon their hearts.

Speaking of the equalitarian principles of the first reformers, their plunder of the rich, &c. he says:

It is the very property of common people, namely of these Almaynes, that whatsoever they be persuaded unto, agreeable to their affections, they shall be ready, in a sudden *gyere*[1] to accomplish; regarding neither danger, nor commodity; though soon after they repent them. And like as the people of Israel brought the jewels of their wives and children to the making of the golden calf; so did they bring their jewels, beads, rings, *outchyes* with money, both gold and silver, to the common

[1] passion, paroxysm.

hutches[1] so abundantly for this provision, that men doubted, in some place, whether they had poor folk sufficient to consume so exceeding heaps of riches. But this doubt was soon made a plain case: for within a while after, the ardent heat of their liberal devotion waxed cold; and because they continued not still in bringing in their oblations, the *hutches* and coffers were empty before men wist it. Then whiles it was compassed what way might be best taken for the preservation of their ordinance, least it should decay, to their confusion that began it; some gave counsel that it should be necessary to deprive the clergy of their goods, and to distribute their possessions, lands, and rents among lay people, and to throw down all monasteries, and churches, making coin of crosses, chalices, and other sacred jewels, for the sustentation of the poor, as they alledged.

[1] *hutch*—originally a sort of large box or coffer for containing thrashed corn.

SIR JOHN CHEKE.

THE reign in which sir John Cheke might be said to have florished, is that of Henry VIII. But as his only composition in English was written in the third year of the present reign, he could not have been assigned with propriety to the preceding.

He was born at Cambridge, in 1514; and admitted at the age of seventeen into St. John's college, where he early distinguished himself for his proficiency in the learned languages, particularly Greek. After taking his degrees in arts, he was chosen Greek lecturer in his own college. To this office, no salary was annexed; but in the year 1540, Henry VIII. founded a Greek professorship at Cambridge, of which Cheke was elected the first professor, when only twenty-six years of age. He had also the honour of being chosen university orator.

In 1544, he was appointed preceptor to prince Edward, jointly with Sir Anthony Cook; and at the same time was made canon of the newly-founded college of Christ-church, Oxford. Edward on his accession rewarded his tutor, for the assiduous care he had shewn him in his education, with a pension of a hundred marks, as likewise with a grant of several lands and manors; and moreover, caused him to be elected provost of King's College, Cambridge. In 1550, he was appointed chief gentleman of the king's privy chamber; and the year following, his majesty conferred on him the honour of knighthood, with a grant of considerable value. He was soon after made chamberlain of the exchequer for life; in 1553, constituted clerk of the council; and not long after, one of the secretaries of state, and a privy-counsellor.

Sir John was a zealous protestant; in consequence of which, he was severely persecuted by the bigotted Mary, twice imprisoned in the Tower, stript of his whole substance, and ultimately reduced to the terrifying dilemma —"Either turn or burn." His religious zeal was not proof against this fiery ordeal, and he recanted. His property was now restored;

but his recantation was followed by such bitterness of remorse, that he survived it but a short time, dying in 1557, at the early age of forty-three.

The period in which Cheke florished is highly interesting to letters. He, in conjunction with his friend and cotemporary Smith, was the great instrument of the diffusion of classical and philological learning. Ancient literature had already begun to dawn; it had not yet advanced into the clear and steady light of day. The efforts of these men contributed greatly to accelerate its progress; and were effectual in deciding the taste of the age. Cheke and Smith were first incited to the pursuit of Grecian literature by the reputation and example of Dr. John Redman, of St. John's College (afterwards dean of Westminster), who was elected lady Margaret's professor of divinity about the year 1538. Redman had studied at the university of Paris, and returned to his own country accomplished in the two learned languages; and the high consideration he obtained, on this account, conspiring with their curiosity and ardour in study, produced that emulation which eventually rendered them his masters in learning. They hence

abandoned the idle disputations of the schools, with the metaphysic subtleties of the schoolmen, for the more delightful and profitable study of the Grecian and Roman classics.

One of the great objects of their literary labours was—the introduction of a more rational method of pronouncing Greek; or rather, to restore what they conceived to be the original pronunciation of that language. It may not be unacceptable to the philological student to be informed, what the changes were which they proposed to introduce, as stated in his Life by Strype.

At this period, the Greek language had only begun to be studied even in our universities; and its pronunciation had been vitiated by the corrupt channels through which it had been conveyed to us. In particular, the received method of sounding the vowels and diphthongs, and also some of the consonants, was such that it was frequently impossible to distinguish different words by difference of sound. Thus αι was pronounced as ε, οι and ει as ι, and η and υ, were both sounded as ιωτα or *j*. Some of the consonants were differently pronounced, according as they were differently

situated in a word. Thus π after ν was sounded as a soft θ and τ after μ was pronounced as our *d*. The letter κ was pronounced as our *ch*, and β as our *v* consonant. With a very little reflection on the subject, it was not difficult to conclude, that such a method of pronunciation was totally destructive of all that beauty of the Greek language, which arises from variety of sound, and that such therefore could not have been the pronunciation of the Greeks.

These scruples formed the subjects of frequent conversations between Cheke and Smith (who was also public reader of Greek in his own college), and they determined upon an innovation. They seem to have been led to the improvement in question, by their feeling, while lecturing in their respective colleges, the necessity of varying the sound as the vowels varied, in order to render the language intelligible, as well as harmonious to the ear. At the commencement of their doubts, they had not seen the book of Erasmus on the subject; but having procured it, together with *Terentianus de Literis et Syllabis*, they began their work of reformation; at the same time consulting those Grecian writers (particularly Aristopha-

nes) from whom they were likely to derive aid. At length they arrived at the no difficult conclusion, that each vowel ought to possess its appropriate and distinct sound; and that every diphthong, as composed of two vowels, should have the sound of two.

They were obliged, however, to proceed with caution. They felt, that having reason on their side, was not enough to ensure support. In the first instance, they communicated the proposed change only to a few of their most intimate friends; and obtaining their approbation, resolved to make it public; still with circumspection and prudence. It was agreed that Smith should begin. At this time, he read Aristotle *de Republicâ* to his hearers; and the artifice by which he contrived to smuggle in a few contraband words is calculated to excite a smile in a modern reader, while it exhibits a strong proof of the ignorance and prejudice of the age. To hide the novelty of his pronunciation, he occasionally let fall a word as if by inadvertence, pronounced in the new mode. At first, this excited no attention from his auditors; but as the number of these new-fangled words gradually increased, their curiosity was awakened, and

attention was sometimes so alert, as to induce him to correct himself, as if he had made a mistake. Frequently too, what appeared to them the oddity of the sounds excited laughter. His audience soon began to suspect, that these frequent *mistakes* could not be the effect of accident; and on some of his friends communicating their suspicions to the lecturer, he frankly acknowledged that he had really some change in contemplation; though it was not yet sufficiently matured for the public. They were eager for an explicit communication, which he promised; only requesting them to suspend their final decision, till their ears had become accustomed in some degree to the new sounds. He now proceeded to lecture in his own college upon Homer's Odyssey; using the new pronunciation without restraint. Cheke did the same in his college; and in a short time, the proposed improvement appeared so reasonable to the more learned and judicious part of the university, that it was eagerly adopted; and the study of the Greek became daily an object of greater attention and of more ardent pursuit.

The catholics, however, who always hated the very name of innovation, were greatly

disturbed about this *new* way of pronouncing Greek, and opposed its introduction with obstinate perverseness. But unable to prevail, they complained to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of the university, who, in the true spirit of popery, issued an edict, dated 14th May 1542, prohibiting all persons to use the new method, under the following penalties: If the offender were a regent, he was to be expelled the senate; if he stood for a degree, he was not to be admitted to it; if a scholar, he was to lose his scholarship; and the younger students were to be privately chastised.

On the appearance of this edict, Cheke wrote a letter to this haughty and overbearing prelate, in which he contended, that the true sounds of the letters had been changed in the last barbarous ages, and that it was therefore better to mend that barbarity than to follow it. For authority, he appealed to Erasmus, (who had written a book on the true pronunciation of the Latin and Greek) and also to other learned men. To this representation, the bishop replied,—that the sound of letters was more likely to be changed by the learned than the unlearned; "the learned being wont to have

so much regard to euphony, and the gracefulness of the sound of words." Cheke further objected, that by pronouncing the diphthong *οι*, for example, as an *ι* (as was commonly done) there was no distinction between Λοιμος and Λιμος. But it was *change* which the chancellor regarded as dangerous, and he rejoined with warmth—"*utere moribus antiquis verbis vero præsentibus, et multo magis sonis.*" Sir John still urged his love of truth, as his motive for the innovation; but the prelate still more inflamed replied—"*Quid non mortalia pectora cogit veri quærendi fames?*"—Truth, however, at length prevailed over prelatical tyranny; and the new method was received in the universities and throughout the kingdom.

This controversy was conducted between Gardiner and Cheke in seven Latin epistles; of which the originals were left in the hands of Cælius Secundus Curio, a learned man of Basil, by Cheke himself, as he passed through that place in his journey to Italy, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign. From these originals, they were published by Curio, in 1555, 8vo, without the knowledge of Cheke, under the following title—*Johannis Cheke*

Angli de pronunciatione Græcæ potissimum linguæ, disputationes cum Stephano Wintoniensi episcopo, septem contrariis Epistolis comprehensæ, magnâ quâdam et elegantiâ et eruditione refertæ.

To prevent incorrectness of pronunciation in the Latin language, arising from a violation of quantity, he proposed, that the Greek ω should be substituted for the long vowel *o*, as in *uxwrem, liberws;* that the long *i* should be written with two points over it, as in dïvïnitus; and that the long *e*, and particularly the diphthong, which had been commonly written as the ordinary *e*, should have a comma after it, as in *le,tor.*

In the changes he was desirous of introducing into the English orthography, he was less successful, and perhaps less rational. 1. He proposed that the final *e*, when not sounded, should be abolished: Thus he would write *excus, giv, deceiv, práis, commun;* and when sounded, that it should be written a double *e*, as in *necessitee.* 2. That when the letter *a* was sounded long, it should be written a double *a*, to distinguish it from *a* short, as in *maad, straat, daar.* 3. That where the letter *i* was sounded long, it should be written double *i*,

as in *desiir*, liif. 4. That the letter *y* should be thrown entirely out of the alphabet, as useless, and its place supplied with *i*, as in *mi, sai, awai.* 5. That *u* long should be written with a stroke over it, as in *præsūm.* 6. That the rest of the long vowels should be written with double letters, as *weer, theer,* (and sometimes *thear*) *noo, noon, adoo, thoos, loov,* in order to avoid an *e* at the end. 7. That letters without sound should be thrown out; as in the words, *frutes, wold, faut, dout, again* for *against, hole, meen* for *mean.* 8. And that the orthography of some words should be changed merely to improve the expressiveness of the sounds; as in *gud, britil, praisabil,* &c.—This scheme of orthographical innovation was found impracticable. It was too violent a change upon established habits in the language, to meet with a general reception. Nor, had it been practicable, would it have been at all desirable. The books formerly printed would have been rendered in a short time, almost unintelligible, and thus the most perplexing confusion would have prevailed. Besides, the etymologist, if his labours deserve not to be regarded as wholly contemptible, would have often found himself entangled in

an inexplicable labyrinth in his search after the original meanings of words.

A more promising attempt to improve the English language was, his resolution to admit no terms into his diction, which had not an English, or rather a Saxon original. But in respect of this scheme, it might be observed, that the purity of our language had been too deeply corrupted by the admixture of exotic terms and phrases in his time, to admit its being carried into complete effect. Yet, from his disapprobation of the foreign terms employed in the existing translations of the scriptures, he resolved on the Herculean labour of a new version; and actually proceeded through St. Matthew's Gospel, and the beginning of St. Luke's. In the short specimen which I shall give from this version, it will be seen, however, with what inconsiderable success he reduced his principles to practice. In the course of three or four short verses, the learned reader will readily detect some half a dozen words derived from the Latin or Greek.

Matth. i. ver. 18.—After his mother Mari was ensured to Joseph, before thei weer cupled together,

she was preived to be with child; and it was indeed by the Holi Ghoost. 19. But Joseph her husband, being a just man, and loth to use extremitie toward her, entended privili to divorse himself from her. 20. And being in this mind, lo the angel of the Lord appeired by dream, &c.

Chap. ii. ver. 16. Then Herod seeing that he was plaid withal by the wise-heards, &c.

In this translation he used such words as the following: *desiirful, ungrevous, tollers,* for publicans, &c. &c.

The points of view, in which perhaps we are most indebted to Sir John Cheke for the improvement of our language, are the following. He recommended and practised a more minute attention to the meaning of words and phrases, and adopted a more skilful arrangement of them in composition. Before him, the sentences were long, and too frequently involved. He recommended and used short sentences; and thus he has the merit of introducing greater precision of language, more perspicuity and force of stile.

In the arrangement and flow of words, there is often a great similarity between the English language and the Greek. Sir John was accus-

tomed to read off his Greek lectures from the original into English; and hence, he was very probably led to the adoption of those improvements of which we have been speaking.—It is not unworthy of remark, that the scholars of this age were particularly attentive to the writing of a fine hand. Thus Sir John Cheke, with Roger Ascham and others, were not only the first scholars, but also the finest mechanical penmen of their age.

I am probably right in saying, that the only English work extant of Sir John Cheke (except some letters published by Strype in his Life, and a few others in Harrington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*) is his tract entitled, "The Hurt of Sedition, how grievous it is to a Commonwealth;" and I should perhaps scarcely have thought it worth while to have ranked him in the present series of writers in English, were it not for his eminence as a scholar, and for the intimate connection of his character with the literary history of our country. The tract just mentioned was written and published in 1549. It is inserted in Holinshed's Chronicle, under the year 1549, and was reprinted in 1576. In 1641, it was printed a third time, by Dr. Gerard Langbaine, of Queen's College,

Oxford, with a brief life of the author prefixed; and was designed, on this occasion, as a check upon those who took arms against Charles I. in the time of the civil wars. The occasion which gave birth to it is the following:

In the summer of 1549, a formidable rebellion broke out in many of the counties in England; particularly in Devonshire and Norfolk. The respective pleas of the rebels, in these distant parts of the kingdom, were different. Those in the West were desirous of restoring the popish religion, those of Norfolk and Suffolk rebelled from political motives and insisted on a reform in the government. Sir John, in his address, endeavoured to adapt himself to each of these classes of malcontents; the former of whom he addresses in the following manner:

Ye rise for religion. What religion taught you that? If ye were offered persecution for religion, ye ought to flee. So Christ teacheth you, and yet you intend to fight. If ye would stand in the truth, ye ought to suffer like martyrs; and ye would slay like tyrants. Thus for religion, ye keep no religion, and neither will follow the council of Christ, nor the constancy of martyrs. Why rise ye for religion?

Have ye any thing contrary to God's book? Yea, have ye not all things agreeable to God's word? But the new [religion] is different from the old; and therefore ye will have the old. If ye measure the old by truth, ye have the oldest. If ye measure the old by fancy, then it is hard, because men's fancies change, to give that is old. Ye will have the old stile. Will ye have any older than that as Christ left, and his apostles taught, and the first church did use? Ye will have that the *canons* do establish. Why that is a great deal younger than that ye have of later time, and newlier invented; yet that is it that ye desire. And do ye prefer the bishops of Rome afore Christ? Men's inventions afore God's law? The newer sort of worship before the older? Ye seek no religion; ye be deceived; ye seek traditions. They that teach you blind you, that so instruct you, deceive you. If ye seek what the old doctors say, yet look what Christ, the oldest of all, saith. For he saith, "before Abraham was made I am." If ye see the truest way, he is the very truth. If ye seek the readiest way, he is the very way. If ye seek everlasting life, he is the very life. What religion would ye have other how than his religion? You would have the bibles in again. It is no mervail; your blind guides should lead you blind still. * * * * * * * *

But why should ye not like that [religion] which

God's word establisheth, the primitive church hath authorized, the greatest learned men of this realm have drawn the whole consent of, the parliament hath confirmed, the king's majesty hath set forth? Is it not truly set out? Can ye devise any truer than Christ's apostles used? Ye think it is not learnedly done. Dare ye, commons, take upon you more learning than the chosen bishops and clerks of this realm have? * * * * * * * * * * *

Learn, learn to know this one point of religion, that God will be worshipped as he hath prescribed, and not as we have devised. And that his will is wholly in the scriptures, which be full of God's spirit, and profitable to teach the truth, &c.

The political seditionists, he addresses thus:

Ye pretend to a commonwealth. How amend ye it by killing of gentlemen, by spoiling of gentlemen, by imprisoning of gentlemen? A marvellous *tanned*[1] commonwealth. Why should ye hate them for their riches, or for their rule? Rule, they never took so much in hand as ye do now. They never resisted the king, never withstood his council, be faithful at this day, when ye be faithless, not only to the king,

[1] Ket, their ringleader, was a tanner.

whose subjects ye be, but also to your lords, whose tenants ye be. Is this your true duty—in some of homage, in most of fealty, in all of allegiance—to leave your duties, go back from your promises, fall from your faith, and contrary to law and truth, to make unlawful assemblies, ungodly companies, wicked and detestable camps, to disobey your betters, and to obey your tanners, to change your obedience from a king to a Ket, to submit yourselves to traitors, and break your faith to your true king and lords? * * * * * * *

If riches offend you, because ye would have the like, then think that to be no commonwealth, but envy to the commonwealth. Envy it is to *appair*[1] another man's estate, without the amendment of your own; and to have no gentlemen, because ye be none yourselves, is to bring down an estate, and to mend none. Would ye have all alike rich? That is the overthrow of all labour, and utter decay of work in this realm. For, who will labour more, if, when he hath gotten more, the idle shall by lust, without right, take what him list from him, under pretence of equality with him? This is the bringing in of idleness, which destroyeth the commonwealth, and not the amendment of labour, which maintaineth the commonwealth. If there should be such equali-

[1] impair.

ty, then ye take all hope away from yours, to come to any better estate than you now leave them. And as many mean men's children come honestly up, and are great succour to all their stock, so should none be hereafter holpen by you. But because you seek equality, whereby all cannot be rich, ye would that belike, whereby every man should be poor. And think beside, that riches and inheritance be God's providence, and given to whom of his wisdom he thinketh good.

This book was printed and dispersed among the rebels.

Sir John Cheke was the first scholar of his age, and contributed perhaps more than any other individual to the diffusion of classical literature. As a proof of his industry, as well as of his learning, it deserves to be mentioned, that he translated from the Greek into the Latin, 1. Five books of Josephus's Antiquities. 2. The Ascetic of Maximus the Monk. 3. Plutarck of Superstition. 4. Three of the Philippics of Demosthenes. 5. His three Olinthiacs. 6. His Oration against Leptines. 7. The Orations of Demosthenes and Æschines on the two opposite sides. 8. Aristotle *de Ani-*

mâ. 9. He translated Sophocles and Euripedes literally. 10. And made corrections on Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, and other authors.

There is a saying of his, relative to Demosthenes, so just, that it ought not to be omitted. "None (says he) ever was more fit to make an Englishman tell his tale praiseworthily in an open hearing, either in parliament or pulpit, or otherwise, than this only orator was."

Sir John wrote, moreover, "A Treatise of Superstition," which was translated, by Mr. William Elstob, and is annexed to Strype's Life of him. The Latin title is *De Superstitione ad Regem Henricum.*

The presence of Cheke appears to have been necessary at Cambridge, in order to keep the attention of the members of that university fixed on polite letters: for he was no sooner called away to court, than they relapsed into idle disputations on the doctrines of predestination, original sin, &c. &c. As a further proof of his influence upon the literary progression of his age, we may cite the cotemporary testimony of Roger Ascham; who, in his schoolmaster, speaks in the following com-

mendatory strain of him, and of Dr. Redman before mentioned: "At Cambridge also, in St. John's College, in my time, I do know, that not so much the good statutes, as two gentlemen of worthy memory, sir John Cheke and Dr. Redman, by their only example of excellency in learning, of godliness in living, of diligence in studying, of council in exhorting, by good order in all things, did breed up so many learned men in that one college of St. John's, at one time, as I believe the whole university of Louvain in many years was never able to afford."

Mary.

QUEEN MARY.

THIS black and loathsome reign of superstition and cruelty instantly reversed all that had been done in the preceding to favour the reformation. No sooner was Mary seated upon the throne, than popery was restored, the monastic institutions revived, the English bible prohibited; and every expedient, which bigotry armed with fire and faggot could employ, was tried to reduce the people to their former state of stupid and servile ignorance. No circumstances could apparently be more inimical to the cultivation of letters. Yet we find, even in this reign, a college founded at Oxford, (Trinity College) in the constitution of which, classical literature was particularly inculcated.

Though the iron arm of persecution was uplifted to destroy all who were friends to civil and intellectual progression; it is somewhat

consolatory to observe that there yet remained a few minds unpalsied by its deadly power; and enjoyed sufficient security for the peaceful pursuits of literature. From contemplating, therefore, the dark picture of Mary's reign, the mental eye turns with pleasure from its political and superstitious horrors to the more gay and refreshing scene of its literary history. Still, it should be recollected, that the literary productions which appeared under Mary, are not the genuine fruits of her reign. They were planted, and even grown, in the preceding.

WILSON.

THOMAS WILSON was originally fellow of King's College, Cambridge, where he was tutor to the two celebrated youths Henry and Charles Brandon, dukes of Suffolk. Being a doctor of laws, he was afterwards one of the ordinary masters of requests, master of St. Katharine's Hospital, near the Tower, a frequent ambassador from queen Elizabeth to Mary-queen of Scots, and into the Low Countries, a secretary of state, and a privy counsellor; and at length, in 1579, dean of Durham. His remarkable diligence and dispatch in negociation are said to have resulted from an uncommon strength of memory. He died in 1581.

Wilson was the author of a System of Rhetoric, and of Logic; and it is remarkable, that notwithstanding the confusion of the times, the rhetoric appeared in the very first year of

this reign, 1553. It was entitled, "The Art of Rhetoric, for the use of all such as are studious of eloquence, set forth in English by Thomas Wilson." This work may be justly considered as the first system of criticism in our language: for though a tract on rhetoric had been printed as early as the year 1530, by Leonarde Coxe, a schoolmaster, it was merely a technical and elementary manuel. On the contrary, the work of Wilson is a regular treatise, explaining the principles of eloquence by examples, and the arts of composition with the sagacity of a critic. This work is curious and important, as it throws light on the general subject, by displaying the ideas of writing, and the state of critical knowledge, which prevailed at this period.

The extracts from Wilson's book, I transcribe from Warton, as the passages which he has selected are equally well adapted to the object of the present compilation.

"Under that chapter of his third book of Rhetoric, which treats of the four parts belonging to elocution, plainness, aptness, composition, and exornation, Wilson has these observations of simplicity of stile, which are

immediately directed to those who write in the English tongue."

Among other lessons, this should first be learned, that we never affect any strange inkhorn terms, but to speak as is commonly received: neither seeking to be over fine, nor yet living over careless; using our speech as most men do, and ordering our wits as the fewest have doen. Some seek so far for outlandish English, that they forget altogether their mother's language. And I dare swear this, if some of their mothers were alive, they were not able to tell what they say: and yet these fine English clerks will say they speak in their mother tongue, if a man should charge them with counterfeiting the king's English. Some far journied gentlemen, at their return home, like as they love to go in foreign apparel, so they will ponder their talk with over-sea language. He that cometh lately out of France will talk French English, and never blush at the matter. Another chops in with English Italianated, and applieth the Italian phrase to our English speaking; the which is, as if an oration that professeth to utter his mind in plain Latin, would needs speak poetry, and far-fetched colours of strange antiquity. The lawyer will store his stomach with the prating of pedlars. The auditor in making his account and reckoning, cometh in with *sise sould, et cater denere*, for 6s. and 4d. The

fine courtier will talk nothing but Chaucer. The mystical wise men, and poetical clerks, will speak nothing but quaint proverbs and blind allegories; delighting much in their own darkness, especially when none can tell what they do say. The unlearned or foolish fantastical, that smells but of learning (such fellows as have seen learned men in their days), will so Latin their tongues, that the simple cannot but wonder at their talk, and think surely they speak by some revelation. I know them, that think rhetoric to stand wholly upon dark words; and he that can catch an inkhorn term by the tail, him they count to be a fine Englishman and a good rhetorician. And the rather to set out this folly, I will add here such a letter as William Sommer himself, could not make a better for that purpose,—devised by a Lincolnshire man for a void benefice.

"This point he illustrates with other familiar and pleasant instances."

"In enforcing the application and explaining the nature of fables, for the purpose of amplification he gives a general idea of the Iliad and Odyssey."

The saying of poets, and all their fables, are not to be forgotten. For by them we may talk at large,

and win men by persuasion, if we declare before hand, that these tales were not feigned of such wise men without cause, neither yet continued until this time and kept in memory, without good consideration; and thereupon declare the true meaning of all such writing. For undoubtedly, there is no one tale among all the poets, but under the same is comprehended something that pertaineth either to the amendment of manners, to the knowledge of truth, to the setting forth nature's work, or else to the understanding of some notable thing doen. For what other is the painful travail of Ulysses described so largely by Homer but a lively picture of man's misery in this life? And as Plutarch saith, and likewise Basilius Magnus, in the Iliads are described strength and valiantness of body: in Odyssea is set forth a lively pattern of the mind. The poets are wise men, and wished in heart the redress of things; the which when for fear they durst not openly rebuke, they did in colours paint them out, and told men by shadows what they should do in good sothe: or else, because the wicked were unworthy to hear the truth, they spake so that none might understand but those unto whom they please to utter their meaning, and knew them to be of honest conversation.

"Wilson thus recommends the force of circumstantial description, or what he calls an evident or plain setting forth of a thing as though it were presently doen."

An example. If our enemies shall invade and by treason win the victory, we shall all die every mother's son of us, and our city shall be destroyed stick and stone: I see our children made slaves, our daughters ravished, our wives carried away, the father forced to kill his own son, the mother her daughter, the son his father, the sucking child slain in his mother's bosom, one standing to the knees in another's blood, churches spoiled, houses plucked down, and all set on fire round about us, every one cursing the day of their birth, children crying, women wailing, &c. Thus, where I might have said, we shall all be destroyed, and say no more, I have by description set the evil forth at large.

"It must be owned that this picture of a sacked city is literally translated from Quintilian. But it is a proof, that we were now beginning to make the beauties of the ancients our own."

"On the necessity of a due preservation of character he has the following precepts, which

seem to be directed to the writers of historical plays."

In describing of persons, there ought always a cómeliness to be used, so that nothing be spoken which may be thought is not in them. As if one should describe Henry the sixth, he might call him gentle, mild of nature, led by persuasion and ready to forgive, careless for wealth, suspecting none, merciful to all, fearful in adversity and without forecast to espy his misfortune. Again, for Richard the third, I might bring him in cruel of heart, ambitious by nature, envious of mind, a deep dissembler, a close man for weighty matters, hardy to revenge and fearful to lose his high estate, trusty to none, liberal for a purpose, casting still the worst, and hoping ever for the best. By this figure also, we imagine a talk for some one to speak, and according to his person we frame the oration. As if one should bring in noble Henry the eight of famous memory, to inveigh against rebels, thus he might order his oration. What if Henry the eight were alive and saw such rebellion in the realm, would he not say thus and thus? Yea, methinks I hear him speak even now. And so set forth such words as we would have him to say.

" Shakespeare himself has not delineated the characters of these English monarchs with

more truth. And the first writers of the mirror of magistrates, 'who imagine a talk for some one to speak, and according to his person frame the oration,' appear to have availed themselves of these directions, if not to have catched the notion of their whole plan from this remarkable passage."

"He next shews the advantages of personification in enlivening a composition."

Sometimes it is good to make God, the country, or some one town, to speak; and look what we would say in our own person, to frame the whole tale to them. Such variety doeth much good to avoid tediousness. For he that speaketh all in one sort, though he speak things never so wittily, shall soon weary his hearers. Figures therefore were invented to avoid satiety, and cause delight: to refresh with pleasure and quicken with grace the dulness of man's brain. Who will look on a white wall an hour together where no workmanship is at all? Or who will eat still one kind of meat and never desire change?

"Prolix narratives, whether jocose or serious, had not yet ceased to be the entertainment of polite companies: and rules for telling a tale with grace now found a place in a book

of general rhetoric. In treating of pleasant sport made by rehearsing of a whole matter, he says,"

They that can lively tell pleasant tales and merry deeds doen, and set them out as well with gesture as with voice, leaving nothing behind that may serve for beautifying of their matter, are most meet for this purpose, whereof assuredly there are but few. And whatsoever he is, that can aptly tell his tale, and with countenance, voice, and gesture, so temper his report that the hearers may still take delight, him count a man worthy to be highly esteemed. For undoubtedly no man can do any such thing unless except that they have a great mother wit, and by experience confirmed such their comeliness whereunto by nature they were most apt. Many a man readeth histories, heareth fables, seeth worthy acts doen, even in this our age; but few can set them out accordingly, and tell them lively, as the matter self requireth to be told. The kinds of delighting in this sort are divers; whereof I will set forth many.—Sport moved by telling of old tales.—If there be any old tale or strange history well and wittily applied to some man living, all men love to hear it of life. As if one were called *Arthur*, some good fellow that were well acquainted with king Arthur's book and the knights of his round table, would

want no matter to make good sport, and for a need would dub him knight of the round table, or else prove him to be one of his kin, or else (which were much) prove him to be Arthur himself. And so likewise of other names merry *panions*[1] would make mad pastime. Oftentimes the deformity of a man's body giveth matter enough to be right merry, or else a picture in shape like another man will make some to laugh right heartily, &c.

"This is no unpleasing image of the arts and accomplishments, which seasoned the mirth and enlivened the conversations of our forefathers. Their wit seems to have chiefly consisted in mimicry."

"He thus describes the literary and ornamental qualifications of a young nobleman, which were then in fashion, and which he exemplifies in the characters of his lamented pupils, Henry duke of Suffolk, and lord Charles Brandon, his brother."

I may commend him for his learning, for his skill in the French or in the Italian, for his knowledge in cosmography, for his skill in the laws, in

[1] companions.

the histories of all countries, and for his gift of enditing. Again, I may commend him for playing at weapons, for running upon a great horse, for charging his staff at the tilt, for vauting, for playing upon instruments, yea, and for painting, or drawing of a plat, as in old time noble princes much delighted therein. And again, such a man is an excellent fellow, saith one, he can speak the tongues well, he plays of instruments few men better, he feigneth to the lute marvellous sweetly, he endites excellently: but for all this, the more is the pity, he hath his faults, he will be drunk once a day, he loves women well, &c.

"The following passage acquaints us, among other things, that many now studied, and with the highest applause, to write elegantly in English as well as in Latin."

When we have learned usual and accustomable words to set forth our meaning, we ought to join them together in apt order, that the ear may delight in hearing the harmony. I know some Englishmen, that in this point have such a gift in the English as few in Latin have the like; and therefore delight the wise and learned so much with their pleasant composition, that many rejoice, when they may

hear such, and think much learning is got when they may talk with them.

" But he adds the faults which were sometimes now to be found in English composition, among which he censures the excess of alliteration."

Some will be so short, and in such wise curtail their sentences, that they had need to make a commentary immediately of their meaning, or else the most that hear them shall be forced to keep counsel. Some will speak oracles, that a man cannot tell which way to take them. Some will be so fine and so poetical withal, that to their seeming there shall not stand one *heare*[1] amiss, and yet every body else shall think them meeter for a lady's chamber, than for an earnest matter in any open assembly.—Some use over much repetition of one letter, as *pitiful poverty prayeth for a penny, but puffed presumption passeth not a point, pampering his paunch with pestilent pleasure, procuring his passport to post it to hell pit, there to be punished with pains perpetual*

" Others, he blames for the affectation of ending a word with a vowel and beginning the next with another. Some, he says, end

[1] hair.

their sentences all alike, making their *talk*[1] rather to appear rhymed metre, than to seem plain speech."

I heard a preacher delighting much in this kind of composition, who used so often to end his sentence with words like unto that which went before, that in my judgment there was not a dozen sentences in his whole sermon but they ended all in rhyme for the most part. Some, not best disposed, wished the preacher a lute, that with his rhymed sermon he might use some pleasant melody, and so the people might take pleasure divers ways, and dance if they list.

"Some writers, he observes, disturbed the natural arrangement of their words. Others were copious where they should be concise. The most frequent fault seems to have been, the rejection of common and proper phrases, for those that were more curious, refined, and unintelligible."

This work exhibits a favourable symptom of the dawn of reason. It was considered as an innovation so daring, that the author happening to visit Rome, was imprisoned by the

[1] style.

inquisitors of the holy see, as a presumptuous and dangerous heretic.

Wilson also translated seven orations of Demosthenes, which, in 1570, he dedicated to sir William Cecil; affording thereby another proof of his attention to the advancement of the English stile.

Warton likewise mentions a treatise of rhetoric, published in 1555, by Richard Sherry, schoolmaster of Magdalene College, Oxford. And speaks of William Fullwood, who—in his "Enemy of Idleness, teaching the manner and stile how to endite and write all sorts of epistles and letters, set forth in English by William Fullwood, merchant;" published in 1571, and written partly in prose and partly in verse—alludes in a respectful manner to Wilson's book. "Whoso (says he) will more circumspectly and narrowly entreat of such matters, let them read the rhetoric of master doctor Wilson, or of master Richard Rainold."—Moreover, in 1582, was published at London, a book entitled, "The first part of the Elementaire, which entreateth chiefly of the right writing of the English tongue, set forth by Richard Mulcaster, London, 1582. This book contains many judicious criticisms and

observations on the English language. Many of its precepts are delivered in metre. In 1586, was published by William Bullokar, a "Brief Grammar for English, imprinted at London by Edmund Bollifant." It is also called "W. Bullokar's Abbreviation of his Grammar for English, extracted out of his grammar at large for the speedy parcing of English speech, and the easier coming to the knowledge of grammar for other languages." This was the first grammar of the English language which ever appeared, except (as the author says) my grammar at large.

GRAFTON.

RICHARD GRAFTON appears to have been descended of a good family, and to have been born in London, about the close of the reign of Henry VII. He had probably a liberal education, since it appears by his writings, that he understood the languages. He practised the art of printing in the successive reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. queen Mary, and of Elizabeth. By company, he was a grocer, as he subscribes himself in a letter to the lord Cromwell, dated 1537. The same year, too, he first appears as a printer in London; a profession he first engaged in, from his being applied to, to procure an edition of Tyndal's Testament, and afterwards of his Bible revised by Coverdale. He might possibly have been induced also, like several other persons of education in that age, by a desire to promote

the progress of ancient learning, as well as of the reformation. He was the printer of Matthews' Bible.

Grafton dwelt in a part of the dissolved house of the Grey Friars, which was afterwards granted by Edward VI. as an hospital for the maintenance and education of orphans, called Christ's Hospital. On the death of Edward VI. he was employed, from his office of king's printer, to print the proclamation, by which the lady Jane Grey was declared successor to the crown. For thus discharging simply the duty of his office, he was deprived of his patent, and forfeited a debt of 300l. due to him from the crown. He was also prosecuted and imprisoned for the same ostensible cause; though more probably from his attachment to the principles of the reformers.

There was a Richard Grafton, grocer, member of parliament for London 1553 and 1554; and again, 1556 and 1557; but that this person was the same with the printer appears somewhat inconsistent with his imprisonment just mentioned. Grafton the member was afterwards returned for Coventry.

During his imprisonment, or at least, while he was driven from his profession of a printer,

he compiled "An Abridgement of the Chronicles of England;" of which there have been several impressions. Ames says, that he had seen five, printed by R. Tottyl—those of 1562, 1563, 1564, 1570, and 1572.

There appears to have been some pique between Grafton and John Stow, the historian of London, &c. originating probably in a spirit of rivalry: for Grafton, in the dedication of his editions of 1570 and 1572, affects to speak with contempt of the labours of his brother historian, whose Chronicle, he said, was composed of "The memories of superstitious foundations, fables, and lies, foolishly STOWED together," &c. Stow, in the next edition of his Chronicle, retorted this censure upon Grafton; charging him with making Edward Hall's Chronicle, his own; and with falsifying Harding's Chronicle, in several instances, when he printed it in 1543. As we are naturally interested in the veracity of our early Chroniclers, it is proper that we should hear what Grafton has to say of himself in vindication. This vindication is contained in the epistle to the reader, in the edition of 1570.

Richard Grafton to the gentle reader.

I have (right loving reader) now once again turned over my first abridgement of Chronicles, and not only amended such things as I found amiss therein, but also have added thereunto many and divers good notes, as the diligent reader shall easily perceive. And my trust is, that as I am not desirous to offend any person, neither by naming or misreporting of their doings; so I shall be favourably (without reproachful or malicious taunts and biting terms) allowed of, as my labours deserve. But yet, gentle reader, this one thing offendeth me so much, that I am enforced to purge myself thereof, and shew my simple and plain dealing therein. One John Stow—of whom I will say no evil, although he hath greatly provoked me thereunto, as by writing of an epistle against me, stuffed with ragged eloquence and uncourteous terms, descanting and defining my name, &c.—and now of late the same man hath published a book, which he nameth a summary of the Chronicles of England, (the untruths whereof I will not here detect) and therein hath charged me bitterly, but chiefly with two things. The one, that I have made Edward Hall's Chronicle my Chronicle, but not without mangling, and (as he saith) without any

ingenuous and plain declaration thereof. The other thing that he chargeth me withal, is in praising of John Harding, one of his authors (who surely is worthy of great praise, and I wish he had followed in his book no worse author). He saith, that a Chronicle of Harding's which he hath, doth much differ from the Chronicle, which under the said Harding's name was printed by me, as though I had falsified Harding's Chronicle. For answer to the first, I have not made Hall's Chronicle my Chronicle, although the greatest part of the same was my own Chronicle, and written with mine own hand; and full little knoweth Stow of Hall's Chronicle: but this I say, I have not made Hall's Chronicle my Chronicle, neither have I used his Chronicle any otherwise than I have all Chronicles; as where Hall spake plainly, there I suffer him to tell his own tale, and in the end, alledge him as my author, as I do all others, though not in every place, which were needless, yet in the chiefest places and matters of weight. And when I found him affected with many obscure words, there I alledged him in as plain terms as I could. And thus much I have had to do with Hall, and none otherwise. And here I note to all men, that I do reverence Hall in his work, he being now dead, as much as I did when he was alive, with whom I was of no small acquaintance; and I am as ready to

advance his praise and commendation, and readier (if I may say it without offence) than he that found fault with me. And Hall (as ye know) wrote but of a few kings, and began where Froissard left; and so neither his Chronicle is mine, nor mine his. Now, as touching John Harding's Chronicle that Stow hath, which he saith doth much differ from that which was imprinted under his name by me, I grant it may well be so; for I have, at this time, a Chronicle that beareth the name of John Harding, written in the Latin tongue in prose, that I am sure John Stow never saw, and though he did, yet I doubt whether he understand it. And it may well be, that one man may write at two times two books of one matter, and yet the one of them not to agree with the other, as Stow himself hath done, who in his later summary of Chronicles, differeth clean from his first, neither agreeing in matter nor years, and yet (as he saith) they are both Stow's Chronicles. And it may also be, that there were more John Hardings than one, and so all may stand well together, and no fault committed by me. Thus much for answer of the faults. And here to make any further declaration of the order of my book, it shall not need; for in the second page thereof are expressed the particulars of the same. And I have joined hereunto an exact table, for the ready finding of any matter herein contained,

most heartily praying the gentle reader, that where he shall find me to have committed any error, that there he will gently interpret me, or amend the same, and so for this time I end. Farewell.

Notwithstanding this vindication of himself, the charge of Stow against him appears to be well founded. Nicholson observes: "A great borrower from this Hall was Richard Grafton, who (as Buchanan rightly observes) was a very heedless and unskilful writer; and yet he has the honour done him to be sometimes quoted by Stow and others." It may be added, that all our more modern compilers have occasionally resorted to him for authority.

Elizabeth.

ELIZABETH.

In this important reign, so glorious to intellect and national pride, protestantism was restored, and with it much of civil and religious freedom. The Bible was now once more accessible to all; and every man re-assumed the privilege of judging for himself in matters of faith. The religious sects, rendered torpid by the noxious influence of Mary's envenomed spirit, revived and enlarged their numbers; and among these, we trace the rise of the puritans, of famous memory.

The spirit of levelling, inherent in human nature, now powerfully reinforced by the equalitarian principles and examples of christianity, rendered the opulence and splendor of an ecclesiastical hierarchy odious to the middling and lower classes of society, who, in their zeal to abolish catholic corruptions, perhaps injudiciously proscribed all ceremoni-

ous observancies, disclaiming the instrumentality of the senses, as idolatrous, and degrading to that visionary, spiritual, and abstracted devotion to which they aspired. To fix the reformation therefore upon a durable basis (one of the first and great objects of this reign) was not accomplished without much division and opposition. The reformed clergy, who had fled into Germany from the persecutions of Mary, now returned in great numbers. By their residence abroad, they had imbibed calvinistic principles of church-government; and even the comparatively modest ceremonies of the reformed system, gave umbrage to the fastidious zeal of these spiritual doctors; and the church was rent with divisions, not concerning the fundamental doctrines of christianity, but on the forms of ecclesiastical discipline. The decision of these controversies led to the accumulation of vast masses of learning on the part of the reforming clergy, who appealed to the Jews, the primitive christians, the fathers, councils, &c. The puritans, on the contrary, disclaiming all human authority, relied solely for the defence of their cause on the authority of the sacred oracles. This ground of argument was, of course, incontes-

tible; but Hooker, in his deep investigation of the subject, contrived to elude its force, by establishing the important inference, that our belief, even in religion itself, is founded on the authority of reason.

Fine literature suffered by these polemical contests. Its progress was also checked from other causes. By the seizure and alienation of impropriations, ecclesiastical preferments were diminished, which produced a proportional diminution in the numbers bred to the church; or, which was then the same thing, who received a liberal education. Numbers, besides, of vulgar people were admitted to the sacred functions—an abuse, which continued to increase to such a degree, that in the year 1560, the bishop of London received an injunction from his metropolitan, to ordain no more artificers and other illiterate persons. This caution, however, was unavailing. About three years after, it is asserted by Wood, that there were only two divines, the president of Magdalene College, and the dean of Christchurch, capable of preaching the public sermons, before the university of Oxford.

But when the commotions, which arose from the fall of the old establishments, had

somewhat subsided, and protestantism became substituted for catholicism, knowledge of every kind began to be cultivated with fresh alacrity and ardour. The spirit of enquiry elicited by reading the scriptures, was now communicated to general subjects; and literary attainments were no longer the exclusive property of the priesthood. Curiosity was awake among all ranks; and all who had fortune and leisure were eager to study the classics—an acquaintance with which became an indispensible requisite in the education of a gentleman. Nor did even the ladies remain unaffected by the prevalent enthusiasm. Every young lady of fashion was instituted in classical literature; and as Warton observes, "the daughter of a duchess was taught alike to distil strong waters and to construe Greek." This fashion in the study of classical literature was greatly encouraged, and probably excited among those of her own sex, by the example of the queen, who, under the tuition of her preceptor Roger Ascham, had gained considerable proficiency in the learned languages. The Grecian and Roman writers, too, were not only read in their vernacular tongues; before the year 1600, almost the whole of them were translated into English.

The study of ancient authors entirely changed the character of our national literature. It introduced a different, and a less wild mythology, more taste and method in composition. It created a distaste for the cumbrous magnificence and barbarous manners of the feudal times, and gradually displaced that particular mode of composition founded upon those manners.

"The books of antiquity being familiarized to the great, every thing (observes Warton) was tinctured with ancient history and mythology. The heathen gods, although discountenanced by the Calvinists, on a suspicion of their tending to cherish and revive a spirit of idolatry, came into general vogue. When the queen paraded through a country town, almost every pageant was a pantheon. When [redacted] paid a visit at the house of any of her nobility, at entering the hall, she was saluted by the Penates, and conducted to her privy chamber by Mercury. Even the pastry-cooks were expert mythologists. At dinner select transformations of Ovid's Metamorphoses were exhibited in confectionary; and the splendid icing of an immense historic plumb-cake was embossed with

a delicious basso-relievo of the destruction of Troy. In the afternoon, when she condescended to walk in the garden, the lake was covered with tritons and nereids; the pages of the family were converted into wood-nymphs, who peeped from every bower; and the footmen gamboled over the lawns, in the figure of satyrs. I speak it without designing to insinuate any unfavourable suspicions; but it seems difficult to say, why Elizabeth's virginity should have been made the theme of perpetual and excessive panegyric; nor does it immediately appear, that there is less merit or glory in a married than a maiden queen. Yet the next morning, after sleeping in a room hung with the tapestry of the Voyage of Æneas, when her majesty hunted in the park, she was met by Diana, who, pronouncing our royal prude to be the brightest paragon of unspotted chastity, invited her to groves free from the intrusions of Acteon."

Towards the close of this reign, a juster sense of things began to appear. Romance eventually gave way to the force of reason and enquiry. The theological discussions and controversies which agitated and divided the world, produced the habit of treating every

subject scientifically; and the art of composition itself (as we have already seen) was subjected to theoretic rules.

From the reign of Elizabeth, we trace the regular and orderly march of society in improvement; and from this period, to the revolution, no country has produced a series of more illustrious writers than England. The Chroniclers and historians, disregarding the idle fables of their predecessors, begin to be attentive only to genuine and authentic history; and among the writers of particular treatises, subjects are discussed of the first importance to human welfare. By these exertions of literary talent the language becomes fixed. There are comparatively few words used by the best writers in this reign, which are not perfectly intelligible to a modern reader.

ROGER ASCHAM.

At the head of these literary worthies, we find the famous Roger Ascham, who was born at Kirby-Wiske, near North Allerton, in Yorkshire, about the year 1515. Before his father's death, he was taken into the family of the Wingfields, and was educated by Mr. Bond, together with his two sons, and at the expence of sir Anthony Wingfield. In this situation, having mastered the elements of the learned languages, he was sent by his generous patron in 1530, to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he early became distinguished. In 1534, when he was only eighteen years of age, he took his degree of bachelor of arts, and was shortly after elected fellow of his own college. At the age of twenty-one, he took his degree of master of arts.

Prior to this, he taught the Greek lan-

guage, in which he was pre-eminently skilled, both publicly in the university, and privately in his own college. His pupils are said to have made an extraordinary proficiency; and one of them (William Grindal) from his recommendation, was engaged by sir John Cheke, as tutor to the lady Elizabeth.

Ascham was particularly fond of archery—a diversion to which he frequently resorted as a relaxation from study. But his conduct, in this respect, exciting the malicious censure of some persons, he defended himself by a small treatise, which he entitled, "*Toxophilus,*" published in 1544, and dedicated to Henry VIII. In consequence of this, the king, at the instance of sir William Paget, settled a small pension upon him, which, though discontinued for a time after Henry's death, was at length restored to him by Edward VI. during pleasure, and also confirmed by Mary, with an addition of ten pounds a year.

The same year in which he published this book, he was chosen university orator in the room of Cheke. On the death of his pupil, Mr. Grindal, in 1548, he was invited to court to become preceptor of the learned languages

to the lady Elizabeth — an office he discharged during two years with great credit and satisfaction to himself and his illustrious pupil. But taking umbrage at some ill-founded rumours maliciously propagated against him, he abruptly quitted the court in disgust, returned to the university, and resumed his studies, with his office of public orator.

While he was on a visit to his relations in Yorkshire, in 1550, he was recalled to court, to attend sir Richard Morison, about to depart for Germany as ambassador to Charles V. On his road to London, he visited the lady Jane Gray, at her father's house, at Broadgate, in Leicestershire; and on this occasion it was that he surprised her reading Plato's *Phædo*, in Greek. He continued three years in Germany, during which he wrote an account "of the Affairs and State of Germany," &c. In the mean while, his friends in England procured for him the office of Latin secretary to Edward VI.; but on the death of the king, losing all his places and pensions, together with all expectation of further favours at court, he retired again to the university. His friend, however, the lord Paget, recommending him to Gardiner bishop of Winches-

ter, then lord high chancellor, he was courteously received by that celebrated prelate, who re-obtained for him his pension, and the post of Latin secretary to the king and queen. In 1554, he married Mrs. Margaret Howe, a lady of family and fortune.

On the accession of Elizabeth, he was immediately distinguished, and read with the queen some hours every day in the Latin and Greek languages. In this office, and in that of Latin secretary, he continued at court for the remainder of his life. It does not appear, however, that his fortune was ever proportional to his station, or to his literary eminence. Grant, who pronounced his funeral oration, attributes this to his contempt of money, which prevented his solicitation of favours; though Camden imputes his narrowness of condition to his want of frugality, and to his love of dice and cock-fighting. Johnson remarks—"We may easily discover from his Schoolmaster, that he felt his wants, though he might neglect to supply them; and we are left to suspect, that he shewed his contempt of money only by losing it at play. If this was his practice (says he) we may excuse Elizabeth, who knew the domestic character of

her servants, if she did not give much to him who was lavish of a little." Johnson adds—"However he might fail in his economy, it were indecent to treat with wanton levity the memory of a man, who shared his frailties with all; but whose learning or virtues few can attain, and by whose excellencies many may be improved, while himself only suffered by his faults." He died in December, 1568. The queen was much concerned at his death, and was heard to say, that she had rather have lost ten thousand pounds, than her tutor Ascham.

The only other works of Ascham are, 1. His Schoolmaster. 2. His Epistles, which were collected and published after his death by Mr. Grant, master of Westminster school, and dedicated to queen Elizabeth, with the intention of recommending his son, Giles Ascham, to her patronage. The Schoolmaster was printed by his widow. The *Toxophilus*, and the account of Germany, alone were published by himself.

His design in writing his *Toxophilus* was, according to his own account, not merely to vindicate himself from the imputation of spending too much time in archery; but, as stated by Dr. Johnson, "to give an example

of diction more natural and more truly English, than was used by the common writers of that age, whom he censures for mingling exotic terms with their native language, and of whom he complains, that they were made authors not by skill or education, but by arrogance and temerity.—He has not failed (says Johnson) in either of his purposes. He has sufficiently vindicated archery as an innonocent, salutary, useful, and liberal diversion; and if his precepts are of no use, he has only shewn by one example among many, how little the hand can derive from the mind, how little intelligence can contribute to dexterity. In every art, practice is much; in arts manual, practice is almost the whole. Precept can at most but warn against error, it can never bestow excellence." This work has been lately published separately in a small volume.

The following passage is curious, as it shews the state of the language at the time of his writing.

If any man would blame me either for taking such a matter in hand, or else for writing it in the English tongue, this answer I may make him, that when the best of the realm think it honest for them to use, I, one of the meanest sort, ought not to

suppose it vile for me to write: and though to have written it in another tongue had been both more profitable for my study and also more honest for my name, yet I can think my labour well bestowed, if with a little hindrance of my profit and name may come any furtherance to the pleasure or commodity of the gentlemen and yeomen of England, for whose sake I took this matter in hand. And as for the Latin or Greek tongue, every thing is so excellently done in them, that none can do better: in the English tongue, contrary, every thing in a manner so meanly, both for the matter and handling, that no man can do worse. For therein the least learned, for the most part, have been always most ready to write. And they which had least hope in Latin have been most bold in English: when surely every man that is most ready to talk is not most able to write. He that will write well in any tongue, must follow this counsel of Aristotle, to speak as the common people do, to think as wise men do: as so should every man understand him, and the judgment of wise men allow him. Many English writers have not done so, but using strange words, as Latin, French, and Italian, do make all things dark and hard. Once I communed with a man which reasoned the English tongue to be enriched and encreased thereby, saying, Who will not praise that feast where a man shall drink at a dinner both wine,

ale, and beer? Truly (quoth I) they be all good, every one taken by himself alone, but if you put *malvesye*[1] and sack, red wine and white, ale and beer, and all in one pot, you shall make a drink not easy to be known, nor yet wholesome for the body. Cicero in following Isocrates, Plato, and Demosthenes, encreased the Latin tongue after another sort. This way, because divers men that write, do not know they can neither follow it, because of their ignorance, nor yet will praise it for over arrogancy; two faults, seldom the one out of the other's company. English writers, by diversity of time, have taken divers matters in hand. In our fathers' time nothing was read but books of feigned chivalry, wherein a man by reading should be led to none other end, but only to manslaughter and baudry. If any man suppose they were good enough to pass the time with all, he is deceived. For surely vain words do work no small thing in vain, ignorant, and young minds, especially if they be given any thing thereunto of their own nature. These books (as I have heard say) were made the most part in abbeys and monasteries, a very likely and fit fruit of such an idle and blind kind of living. In our time now, when every man is given to know, much rather than to live well, very many do write, but after such a fashion as very many do shoot. Some shooters take in hand stronger

[1] malmsey.

bows than they are able to maintain. This thing maketh them some time to overshoot the mark, some time, to shoot far wide, and perchance hurt some that look on. Other, that never learned to shoot, nor yet knoweth good shaft nor bow, will be as busy as the best.

The Schoolmaster,

"Or plain and perfect way of teaching children to understand, write, and speak the Latin tongue; but specially purposed for the private bringing up of youth in gentlemen and noblemen's houses; and commodious also for all such as have forgot the Latin tongue, and would by themselves without a schoolmaster, in short time, and with small pains, recover a sufficient hability to understand, write, and speak Latin."

The occasion of his writing the Schoolmaster, was the following. Being in company with some people of consequence about the court, a dispute of considerable warmth arose respecting the best manner of educating youth; and this accidental occurrence, aided by a particular request from sir Richard Sackville, who was one of the company, gave birth to

this celebrated work. It was first printed in 1573; but it is best known to the public by the edition of Mr. Upton, in 1711, and illustrated with notes. Of the Schoolmaster, Johnson observes, that it "is conceived with great vigour, and finished with great accuracy; and perhaps contains the best advice that was ever given for the study of languages." We may also add, that it is justly esteemed for its judicious characters of ancient authors, for the many just observations it contains, and the various agreeable and valuable passages of English history interspersed throughout.

Ascham very wisely recommends an intermixture of elegant accomplishments and manly exercises with the pursuits of knowledge. After speaking of learning and of the advantages of a good education from various topics, he proceeds:

> And I do not mean, by all this my talk, that young gentlemen should always be poring on a book, and by using good studies, should *leese*[1] honest pleasure, and haunt no good pastime; I mean nothing less: for it is well known, that I both like and love,

[1] lose.

and have always, and do yet still use all exercises and pastimes, that be fit for my nature and hability. And beside natural disposition in judgment, also I was never, either stoic in doctrine, or anabaptist in religion, to mislike a merry, pleasant, and playful nature; if no outrage be committed against law, measure, and good order.

Therefore I would wish, that beside some good time, fitly appointed, and constantly kept, to encrease by reading the knowledge of the tongues, and learning, young gentlemen should use, and delight in all courtly exercises, and gentlemanlike pastimes. And good cause why: for the self same noble city of Athens, justly commended of me before, did wisely, and upon great consideration, appoint the muses, Apollo, and Pallas, to be patrons of learning to their youth. For the muses, besides learning, were also ladies of dancing, mirth, and minstrelsy: Apollo was god of shooting, and author of cunning playing upon instruments; Pallas also was lady mistress in wars. Whereby was nothing else meant, but that learning should be always mingled with honest mirth, and comely exercises; and that war also should be governed by learning and moderated by wisdom; as did well appear in those captains of Athens named by me before, and also in Scipio and Cæsar, the two diamonds of Rome. And Pallas was no more feared in wearing *Ægida*, than she was praised for choosing

Olivam; whereby shineth the glory of learning, which thus was governor and mistress, in the noble city of Athens, both of war and peace.

Therefore to ride comely, to run fair at the tilt or ring; to play at all weapons; to shoot fair in bow, or surely in gun; to vaut lustily; to run, to leap, to wrestle, to swim; to dance comely; to sing and play on instruments cunningly; to hawk, to hunt, to play at tennis, and all pastimes generally, which be joined with labour, used in open place and on the day light, containing either some fit exercise for war, or some pleasant pastime for peace, be not only comely and decent, but also very necessary for a courtly gentleman to use.

Towards the end of this treatise, there are several pages which treat, incidentally indeed, of the literature, the manners, and the opinions of the age. These passages, to a modern reader, will be considered probably as the most valuable part of the book. The particular views of the author in the observations he makes are of little consequence.

Sir Richard Sackville, that worthy gentleman, of worthy memory, as I said in the beginning, in the queen's privy chamber at Windsor, after he had

talked with me for the right choice of a good wit in a child for learning, and of the true difference betwixt quick and hard wits; of alluring young children by gentleness to love learning, and of the special care that was to be had, to keep young men from licentious living; he was most earnest with me, to have me say my mind also, what I thought concerning the fancy that many young gentlemen of England have to travel abroad, and namely to lead a long life in Italy. His request, both for his authority, and good will toward me, was a sufficient commandment unto me to satisfy his pleasure with uttering plainly my opinion in that matter. Sir, quoth I, I take going thither and living there, for a young gentleman that doth not go under the keep and guard of such a man, as both by wisdom can, and authority dare rule him, to be marvellous dangerous. * * * * * * *

I know divers noble personages, and many worthy gentlemen of England, whom all the syren songs of Italy could never untwine from the mast of God's word; nor no inchantment of vanity overturn them from the fear of God and love of honesty.

But I know as many, or *mo*, and some, sometime my dear friends, (for whose sake I hate going into that country the more) who parting out of England fervent in the love of Christ's doctrine, and well furnished with the fear of God, returned out of

Italy, worse transformed than ever was any in Circe's court. I know divers, that went out of England men of innocent life, men of excellent learning, who returned out of Italy, not only with worse manners, but also with less learning; neither so willing to live orderly, nor yet so hable to speak learnedly, as they were at home, before they went abroad. * * *

But I am afraid that over many of our travellers into Italy, do not eschew the way to Circe's court, but go, and ride, and run, and fly thither; they make great haste to come to her; they make great suit to serve her; yea, I could point out some with my finger, that never had gone out of England, but only to serve Circe in Italy. Vanity and vice, and any license to ill living in England, was counted stale and rude unto them. And so, being mules and horses before they went, return swine and asses home again; yet every where very foxes with subtle and busy heads; and where they may, very wolves, with cruel malicious hearts. A marvellous monster, which for filthiness of living, for dulness to learning himself, for wiliness in dealing with others, for malice in hurting without cause, should carry at once, in one body, the belly of a swine, the head of an ass, the brain of a fox, the womb of a wolf. If you think we judge amiss, and write too sore against you, hear what the Italian sayeth of the Englishman; what the master reporteth of the scholar, who

uttereth plainly what is taught by him, and what is learned by you, saying, *Englese Italianato, e un Diabolo incarnato:* that is to say, "You remain men in shape and fashion, but become devils in life and condition." * * * * * *

If some do not well understand what is an Englishman Italianated, I will plainly tell him: "He that by living, and travelling in Italy, bringeth home into England, out of Italy, the religion, the learning, the policy, the experience, the manners of Italy." That is to say, for religion, papistry, or worse; for learning, less commonly than they carried out with them; for policy, a factious heart, a discoursing head, a mind to meddle in all men's matters; for experience, plenty of new mischiefs never known in England before; for manners, variety of vanities, and change of filthy lying.

These be the enchantments of Circe, brought out of Italy, to mar men's manners in England; much by example of ill life, but more by precepts of fond books, of late translated out of Italian into English, sold in every shop in London; commended by honest titles, the sooner to corrupt honest manners; dedicated over boldly to virtuous and honourable personages, the easilier to beguile simple and innocent wits. It is pity that those which have authority and charge to allow and disallow books to be printed, be no more circumspect herein than they are. Ten

sermons at Paul's cross do not so much good for moving men to true doctrine, as one of those books do harm, with enticing men to ill living. Yea, I say farther, those books tend not so much to corrupt honest living, as they do to subvert true religion. *Mo* papists be made by your merry books of Italy, than by your earnest books of Louvain. * *

Where will inclineth to goodness, the mind is bent to troth: where will is carried from goodness to vanity, the mind is soon drawn from troth to false opinion. And so the readiest way to entangle the mind with false doctrine, is first to intice the will to wanton living. Therefore, when the busy and open papists abroad, could not, by their contentious books, turn men in England fast enough from troth and right judgment in doctrine, then the subtle and secret papists at home procured bawdy books to be translated out of the Italian tongue, whereby over many young wills and wits allured to wantonness, do now boldly contemn all severe books that sound to honesty and godliness. * * *

And yet ten *La Morte d'Arthures* do not the tenth part so much harm, as one of these books made in Italy, and translated in England. They open, not fond and common ways to vice, but such subtle, cunning, new, and divers shifts, to carry young wills to vanity, and young wits to mischief, to teach old bawds new school points, as the simple

head of an Englishman is not able to invent, nor never was heard of in England before, yea, when papistry overflowed all. Suffer these books to be read, and they shall soon displace all books of godly learning. For they carrying the will to vanity, and marring good manners, shall easily corrupt the mind with ill opinions, and false judgment in doctrine, first to think ill of all true religion, and at last to think nothing of God himself: one special point that is to be learnt in Italy and Italian books. And that which is most to be lamented, and therefore more needful to be looked to, there be *moe* of these ungracious books set out in print within these few months than have been seen in England many score years before. And because our *Englishmen* made *Italians* cannot hurt but certain persons, and in certain places, therefore these Italian books are made English, to bring mischief enough openly and boldly, to all states, great and mean, young and old, every where. * * * * *

Then they have in more reverence the triumphs of Petrarch, than the Genesis of Moses; they make more account of Tully's Offices, than of St. Paul's Epistles; of a tale in Boccace, than a story of the Bible. Then they count as fables, the holy mysteries of christian religion. They make Christ and his Gospel only serve civil policy. Then neither religion cometh amiss to them. In time they be

promotors of both openly; in place, again, mockers of both privily, as I wrote once in a rude rhyme:

Now new, now old, now both, now neither;
To serve the world's course, they care not with whether.

For where they dare, in company where they like, they boldly laugh to scorn both protestant and papist. They care for no scripture; they make no count of general councils; they contemn the consent of the church; they pass for no doctors; they mock the pope; they rail on Luther; they allow neither side; they like none, but only themselves. The mark they shoot at, the end they look for, the heaven they desire, is only their own present pleasure, and private profit; whereby they plainly declare of whose school, of what religion they be; that is, "Epicures in living and ἄθεοι in doctrine." This last word is no more unknown now to plain Englishmen, than the person was unknown some time in England, until some Englishmen took pains to fetch that devilish opinion out of Italy. These men thus Italianated abroad, cannot abide our godly Italian church at home; they be not of that parish; they be not of that fellowship; they like not that preacher; they hear not his sermons, except sometimes for company; they come thither to hear the Italian tongue naturally spoken, not to hear God's doctrine truly preached.

And yet these men, in matters of divinity, openly

pretend a great knowledge, and have privately to themselves a very compendious understanding of all; which nevertheless they will utter, when and where they list: and that is this: All the mysteries of Moses, the whole law and ceremonies, the psalms and prophets, Christ and his gospel, God and the devil, heaven and hell, faith, conscience, sin, death, and all, they shortly wrap up, they quickly expound, with this one half verse of Horace;

——— *Credat Judæus Apella.*

Yet though in Italy they may freely be of no religion, as they are in England in very deed too; nevertheless, returning home into England, they must countenance the profession of the one or the other, howsoever inwardly they laugh to scorn both. And though for their private matters, they can follow, fawn, and flatter noble personages, contrary to them in all respects; yet commonly they ally themselves with the worst papists, to whom they be wedded and do well agree together in three proper opinions; in open contempt of God's word, in a secret security of sin, and in a bloody desire to have all taken away by sword or burning, that be not of their faction. They that do read with an indifferent judgment *Pighius and Machiavel*, two indifferent patriarchs of these two religions, do know full well that I say true. * * * * * *

Our Italians bring home with them other faults

from Italy, though not so great as this of religion; yet a great deal greater than many good men can well bear. For commonly they come home, common contemners of marriage, and ready persuaders of all others to the same; not because they love virginity, nor yet because they hate pretty young virgins, but being free in Italy to go whithersoever lust will carry them, they do not like that law and honesty should be such a bar to their liberty at home in England. And yet they be the greatest makers of love, the daily dalliers with such pleasant words, with such smiling and secret countenances, with such signs, tokens, wagers, purposed to be lost before they were purposed to be made, with bargains of wearing colours, flowers, and herbs, to breed occasion of after meeting of him and her, and bolder talking of this and that, &c. And although I have seen some, innocent of all ill, and staid in all honesty, that have used these things without all harm, without all suspicion of harm; yet these knacks were brought first into England by them, that learned them before in Italy in Circe's court; and how courtly courtesies so ever they be counted now, yet if the meaning and manners of some that do use them were somewhat amended, it were no great hurt, neither to themselves, nor to others.

Another property of these our English Italians is, to be marvellous singular in all their matters; sin-

gular in knowledge, ignorant of nothing; so singular in wisdom (in their own opinion) as scarce they count the best councellor the prince hath, comparable with them: common discoursers of all matters, busy searchers of most secret affairs, open flatterers of great men, privy mislikers of good men; fair speakers with smiling countenances, and much courtesy openly to all men; ready backbiters, sore nippers, and spiteful reporters privily of good men. And being brought up in Italy in some free city, as all cities be there; where a man may freely discourse against what he will, against whom he lust, against any prince, against any government, yea, against God himself, and his whole religion; where he must be either Guelph or Gibiline; either French or Spanish; and always compelled to be of some party, of some faction, he shall never be compelled to be of any religion. And if he meddle not over much with Christ's true religion, he shall have free liberty to embrace all religions, and become if he lust, at once, without any let or punishment, Jewish, Turkish, Papish, and Devilish.

A young gentleman thus bred up in this goodly school, to learn the next and ready way to sin, to have a busy head, a factious heart, a talkative tongue, fed with discoursing of factions, led to contemn God and his religion, shall come home into England but very ill taught, either to be an honest man

himself, a quiet subject to his prince, or willing to serve God, under the obedience of true doctrine, or within the order of honest living.

In stating the consequences of the translation from the Italian poets and novelists, the reasonings of Ascham savour strongly of the puritanical notions of his times. They are the arguments rather of a calvinistic preacher, than of a polite and elegant scholar. The books alluded to, were the works of Boccace, consisting of poems and novels; of Petrarca and other Italian novelists. These compositions not being made up entirely of romantic adventures, had various scenes of real life and of manners; and though they dealt in fictitious stories, those stories consisted of probable events. They gave birth to numerous plays, poems, and other inventions on a similar plan; and usurped the plan of legends and chronicles.

The character of the Epistles is thus given by bishop Nicholson. "These letters (says he) have chiefly, on account of their elegancy, had several editions. The author was some

time an instructor in the Latin tongue, and afterwards Latin secretary to king Edward VI. queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth; and in this latter station, was frequently employed to translate several letters of the then English ministers of state, to foreign princes, ambassadors, and other great men. In these we have all the fine variety of language that is proper, either for rendering a petition or complaint the most agreeable, and withal a very great choice of historical matter that is hardly preserved any where else. Together with the author's own letters, we have a good many that are directed to him, both from the most eminent foreigners of his time, such as Sturmius, Sleidan, &c. and the best scholars, as well as the wisest statesmen of his own country. And the publisher of these assures us, that he had the perusal of a vast number of others in the English tongue, which were highly valuable. His attendance on sir Richard Morrison, in his German embassy, gave him an intimate acquaintance with the affairs of that country; and the extraordinary freedom and familiarity with which the two sister queens treated him here at home, afforded him a perfect knowledge of the most secret mysteries of state in

this kingdom; so that, were the rest of his papers retrieved, we could not perhaps have a more pleasing view of the main *arcana* of those reigns that his writings would give us."

Of the various editions of these letters which have been printed, the last and best is that of Oxford, in 1703, published by Mr. Elstob, who has added from MSS. many letters, not in the former editions; but has omitted Ascham's *Poems*, inserted in the rest.

Another work of our author's is mentioned by Wood, intitled, *Apologia contra Missam*, &c. *i. e.* An Apology against the Mass, said to be printed in 1577, in 8vo. There is still another ascribed to him, intitled, *De Imitatione*, included in the last edition of his letters.

In 1761, a new and complete edition of his English works was published by Mr. James Bennet, to which his Life is prefixed by Dr. Johnson. In this edition are to be found, some letters never before printed.

His works have, perhaps, been less read than their merit deserves. It has been observed, in respect of his literary habits, that "he lost no time in the perusal of mean or unprofitable books;" a rule which merits the

attention of every student who reads for information, and who pursues information in order to acquire knowledge.

Roger Ascham must be classed among the most distinguished scholars of his time. Dr. Johnson observes, that he "entered Cambridge at a time when the last great revolution of the intellectual world was filling every academical mind with ardour or anxiety. The destruction of the Constantinopolitan empire had driven the Grecks with their language into the interior parts of Europe. The art of printing had made the books easily attainable, and Greek now began to be taught in England. The doctrines of Luther had already filled all the nations of the Romish communion with controversy and dissention. New studies of literature, and new tenets of religion, found employment for all who were desirous of truth, or ambitious of fame. Learning was at that time prosecuted with that eagerness and perseverance, which in this age of indifference and dissipation it is not easy to conceive. To teach or to learn was at once the business and the pleasure of the academical life; and an emulation of study was raised by Cheke and Smith, to which even the present age perhaps

owes many advantages, without remembering or knowing its benefactors.—Ascham soon resolved to unite himself to those who were enlarging the bounds of knowledge, and immediately upon his admission into the college, applied himself to the study of Greek. Those who were zealous for the new learning, were often no great friends to the old religion; and Ascham, as he became a Grecian, became a protestant. The reformation was not yet begun; disaffection to popery was considered as a crime justly punished by exclusion from favour and preferment, and was not yet openly professed, though superstition was gradually losing its hold upon the public. The study of Greek was reputable enough, and Ascham pursued it with diligence and success equally conspicuous."

It has been before observed, that the restoration of ancient literature, notwithstanding its beneficial influence on taste and general refinement, tended in the first instance to check the progress of the English language: for all persons of education, ambitious of the character of erudition, wrote in Latin. From the introduction of the ancient classics to the publication of Ascham's *Toxophilus*, no man

of literary eminence (with the exception of sir Thomas More) published any piece of consequence in English. On this account, the vernacular language, long after the invention of printing, instead of being refined, was corrupted by various affected additions and barbarisms. In the extract from the *Toxophilus*, we have seen Ascham complaining of this; and feeling its impropriety, he was the first, after More, who had the resolution to throw off the fetters of a learned language. The *Toxophilus* (as above noticed) was published the last year of Henry VIII. or in 1545.

This universal attention to polite literature, the prominent feature in the literary character of the age of which we are treating, had one bad effect: it excluded philosophy We need not regret, perhaps, that the redoubted logicians and metaphysicians Duns Scotus, and Thomas Aquinas were abandoned; but we have reason to lament that words usurped the place of things, to the knowledge of which they are merely secondary and subservient. The improvement of society can never be greatly advanced by mere verbalists. These men had their use in their day; but it re-

quired the genius of a Bacon to illumine, with a light full and clear, the benighted intellects of men, by instructing them, that it is only by the successive accumulation of facts susceptible of useful or refined applications, to which society can be indebted for a certain and rapid progression.

FOX.

JOHN FOX, divine, and ecclesiastical historian, was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, in 1517, being the same year that Luther began the reformation in Germany. His father dying when he was young, the care of his early education was undertaken by a father-in-law; and at the age of sixteen, he entered at Brazen-nose College, Oxford, where, in the years 1538, and 1543, he took his degrees in arts.

He engaged with great ardour in the study of divinity, and had embraced the principles of the reformers without any previous intercourse with any of them. But in order to make himself master of the theological controversies which then disturbed and divided all Europe, he began to examine into the history of the church, both in ancient and modern

times. In this course of study, before the age of thirty, he had read over all the Greek and Latin fathers, the schoolmen, the councils, the consistories, and had also attained a competent skill in the Hebrew language. The consequence of this examination was, that he adopted on principle the tenets of the reformers; was convicted of heresy, and in 1545, was expelled the university, narrowly escaping with life.

He afterwards became preceptor successively to the children of sir Thomas Lucy, of Warwickshire, and to those of the earl of Surry, nephew of the duchess of Richmond; under whose inspection the children had been from the committment of the earl, and his father the duke of Norfolk, to the Tower. In this last situation he continued during the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. the reign of Edward VI. and part of that of Mary; when through fear of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who had issued a warrant to apprehend him, he was compelled to fly his country; and at Basil in Germany, a common resort of our countrymen of those times from the persecutions of bigotry, supported himself

and family, by correcting the press for Oporinus, the celebrated printer.

On the settlement of Elizabeth on the throne, he returned to England, obtained a prebend in the church of Salisbury, which, though a non-conformist, he retained to his death. The respect of his cotemporaries would have advanced him to the first preferment in the church, could he have been prevailed upon to subscribe to the established canons. He died in 1587, at the age of seventy.

His principal work is his History of the Acts and Monuments of the Church, commonly called, "Fox's Book of Martyrs." It was first published at London, 1563, in one thick volume folio; and was afterwards printed in two, and then in three. The ninth edition was published in 1684, with copper-plates. The full title is, "Acts and Monuments of these latter and perilous days, touching matters of the church, wherein are comprehended and described the great persecutions and horrible troubles that have been wrought and practised by the Romish prelates, specially in this realm of England and Scotland, from the

year of our Lord a thousand, unto the time now present, &c. Gathered and collected according to the true copies and writings certificatory, as well of the parties themselves that suffered, as also out of the bishops' registers, which were the doers thereof." He conceived the design of this work while a fugitive at Basil. In 1554, he had published at Strasburg, "*Commentarii rerum in Ecclesiâ gestarum, Maximarumque per totam Europàm persecutionum a Wiclavi temporibus ad hanc usque ætatem descriptarum,*" in one book, to which he afterwards added five more printed together at Basil, 1559, folio. The larger work is at this time republishing in numbers.

His account of the dispute between the Franciscan and Dominican friars, towards the close of the fifteenth century, about the conception of the Virgin Mary, will be more amusing, I apprehend, than stories of martyrdoms, which could only lacerate the feelings, without utility.

The Franciscans were they which did hold of St. Francis, and followed the rule of his testament, commonly called Grey Friars, or Minorites. Their opinion was this—that the Virgin Mary, prevented by

the grace of the Holy Ghost, was so sanctified, that she was never subject one moment in her conception, to original sin. The Dominic friars were they, which holding of Dominic, were commonly called Black Friars, or Preaching Friars. Their opinion was, that the Virgin Mary was conceived as all other children of Adam be; so that this privilege only belongeth to Christ, to be conceived without original sin. Notwithstanding, the same blessed virgin was sanctified in her mother's womb, and purged from her original sin, so as was John Baptist, Jeremy, or any other privileged person. This frivolous question kindling and engendering between these two sects of friars, burst out into such a flame of parts and sides taking, that it occupied the heads and wits, schools and universities, almost through the whole church; some holding one part with Scotus, some the other part with Thomas Aquine. The Minorites holding with Scotus their master, disputed and concluded, that she was conceived without all spot or note of original sin; and thereupon caused the feast and service of the conception of St. Mary the virgin to be celebrate and solemnized in the church. Contrary, the Dominic friars, taking side with Aquinas, preached, that it was heresy to affirm that the blessed virgin was conceived without the guilt of original sin; and that they which did celebrate the feast of her concep-

tion, or said any masses thereof, did sin grievously and mortally.

In the mean time, as this phantasy waxed hot in the church, the one side preaching against the other, came pope Sixtus the Fourth, *anno* 1476, who joining side with the Minorites or Franciscans, first sent forth his decree by authority apostolic, willing, ordaining, and commanding all men to solemnize this new found feast of the conception in holy church for evermore; offering to all men and women, which devoutly frequenting the church, would hear mass and service from the first even-song of the same feast to the octaves of the same, as many days of pardon as pope Urban the Fourth and pope Martin the Fifth did grant for hearing the service of *Corpus Christi* day, &c. And this decree was given and dated at Rome, *anno* 1476.

Moreover, the same pope, to the entent that the devotion of the people might be the more encouraged to the celebration of this conception, added a clause more to the *Ave Maria*, granting great indulgence and release of sins to all such as would invocate the blessed virgin, with the same addition, saying thus: *Ave Maria gratiâ plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus Christus; et benedicta sit Anna Mater tua, de quâ, sine maculâ, tua processit caro virginia. Amen.* That is, hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with

thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus Christ, and blessed is Anna thy mother, of whom thy virgin's flesh hath proceeded without blot of original sin. Amen.

Wherein thou mayst note (gentle reader) for thy learning, three things: first, how the pope turneth that improperly into a prayer, which properly was sent of God for a message or tidings. Secondly, how the pope addeth to the words of the scripture, contrary to the express precept of the Lord. Thirdly, how the pope exempteth Mary the blessed virgin, not only from the seed of Abraham and Adam, but also from the condition of a mortal creature: for if there be in her no original sin, then she beareth not the image of Adam, neither doth she descend of that seed, of whose seed evil proceedeth upon all men and women to condemnation, as St. Paul doth teach, Romans v. Wherefore, if she descend of that seed, then the infection of original evil must necessarily proceed unto her. If she descend not thereof, then cometh she not of the seed of Abraham, nor of the seed of David, &c. Again, seeing that death is the effect and stipend of sin, by the doctrine of St Paul, Rom. vi. then had her flesh injury by the law, as Christ himself had, to suffer the malediction and punishment of death, and so should never have died, if original sin had no place in her, &c. But to re-

turn unto our story. This constitution of the pope being set forth for the conception of the blessed virgin, which was the year of our Lord 1476, it was not long after, but the said Pope Sixtus, perceiving that the Dominic friars with their complices would not conform themselves hereunto, directed forth, by the authority apostolical, a bull in effect as followeth:

"*Sane cum sancta Romana ecclesia de intemerata semperque virginis,*" &c. In English: "Whereas the holy church of Rome hath ordained a special and proper service for the public solemnization of the feast of the conception of the blessed Virgin Mary: certain orders of the black friars, in their public sermons to the people in divers places, have not ceased hitherto to preach, and yet daily do, that all they which hold or affirm the said glorious virgin to have been conceived without original sin be heretics; and they which celebrate the service of the said her conception, or do hear the sermons of them which do so affirm, do sin grievously. Also, not contented herewith, do write and set forth books, moreover, maintaining their assertions, to the great offence and ruin of godly minds: We therefore, to prevent and withstand such presumptuous and perverse assertions which have arisen, (and more hereafter may arise by such opinions and preachings aforesaid, in the minds of the faithful) by authority apostolical,

do condemn and reprove the same; and by the motion, knowledge, and authority aforesaid, decree and ordain, that the preachers of God's word, and all other persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soever they be, which shall presume to dare affirm or preach to the people these foresaid opinions and assertions to be true, or shall read, hold, or maintain any such books for true, having before intelligence hereof, shall incur thereby the sentence of excommunication; from which they shall not be absolved otherwise than by the bishop of Rome, except only in the time of death."—This bull being dated the year of our Lord 1483, gave no little heart and encouragement to the grey friars, Franciscans, which defended the pure conception of the holy virgin, against the black Dominic friars with their confederates, holding the contrary side. By the rigour of which bull, the grey order had got such a conquest of the black guard of the Dominics, that the said Dominics were compelled at length, for a perpetual memorial of the triumph, both to give to the glorious virgin every night an anthem in praise of her conception, and also to subscribe unto their doctrine: in which doctrine, these with divers other points be contained:

1. That blessed Mary the virgin suffered the griefs and adversities in this life, not for any necessity inflicted for punishment of original sin; but

only because she would conform herself to the imitation of Christ.

2. That the said virgin, as she was not obliged to any punishment due for sin, as neither was Christ her son; so she had no need of remission of sins, but instead thereof, had the divine preservation of God's help, keeping her from all sin; which grace only she needed, and also had it.

3. *Item*, that whereas the body of the Virgin Mary was subject to death, and died; this is to be understood to come not for any penalty due for sin; but either for imitation and conformity unto Christ, or else for the natural constitution of her body, being elemental, as were the bodies of our first parents; who, if they had not tasted of the forbidden fruit, should have been preserved from death, not by nature, but by grace, and strength of other fruits and meats in paradise; which meats, because Mary had not, but did eat our common meats, therefore she died; and not for any necessity of original sin. Clitovæus, lib. 2. cap. 2.

4. The universal proposition of St. Paul, which saith that the scripture hath concluded all men under sin, is to be understood thus, as speaking of all them which be not exempted by the special privilege of God, as is the blessed Virgin Mary.

5. If justification be taken for reconciliation of him that was unrighteous before, and now is made

righteous; then the blessed virgin is to be taken not for justified by Christ, but just from her beginning by preservation.

6. If a saviour be taken for him which saveth men fallen into perdition and condemnation, so is not Christ the saviour of Mary, but is her saviour only in this respect, for sustaining her from not falling into condemnation, &c.

7. Neither did the Virgin Mary give thanks to God, nor ought so to do, for expiation of her sins, but for her conservation from case of sinning.

8. Neither did she pray to God at any time for remission of her sins; but only for remission of other men's sins she prayed many times, and counted their sins for her's.

9. If the blessed virgin had deceased before the passion of her son, God would have reposed her soul, not in the place among the patriarchs, or amongst the just; but in the same most pleasant place of paradise, where Adam and Eve were before they transgressed.

These were the doting dreams and phantacies of the Franciscans, and of other papists, commonly then holden in the schools, written in their books, preached in their sermons, taught in churches, and set forth in pictures; so that the people was taught nothing else almost in the pulpits, all this while, but how the Virgin Mary was conceived immaculate

and holy, without original sin; and how they ought to call to her for help, whom they with special terms do call, "the way of mercy; the mother of grace; the lover of piety; the comforter of mankind; the continual intercessor for the salvation of the faithful; and an advocate to the king her son, which never ceaseth, &c. *Verba papæ Sexti in decret.*" And although the greatest number of the school doctors were of the contrary faction, as Peter Lombardas, Thomas Aquine, Bernardus, Bonaventura, and other; yet these new papists shifted off their objections with frivolous distinctions and blind evasions. * * * * * * *

Pope Sixtus (as I said) by the authority apostolical, after he had decreed the conception day of the virgin perpetually to be sanctified, and also with his terrible bull, had condemned for heretics all them which withstood the same; the Dominic friars, with authority oppressed, were driven to two inconveniences. The one was, to keep silence; the other was, to give place to their adversaries the Franciscans. Albeit, where the mouth durst not speak, yet the heart would work; and though their tongues were tied, yet their good will was ready by all means possible to maintain their quarrel and estimation.

Whereupon it happened the same year of our Lord, 1509, after this dissention between the Domi-

nic friars and the Franciscans, that certain of the Dominics, thinking by subtle sleight to work in the people's heads that which they durst not achieve with open preaching, devised a certain image of the virgin so artificially wrought, that the friars, by privy gins, made it to stir, and to make gestures, to lament, to complain, to weep, to groan, and to give answers to them that asked. Insomuch that the people therewith were brought in a marvellous persuasion; till at length the fraud being espied, the friars were taken, condemned, and burned at Berne, the year above-mentioned, 1509.

This frivolous dispute was agitated with great violence, during several years, and engaged the attention of the whole christian world. The above narrative presents a favourable specimen of Fox's ability as an historian: for, in general, he is a weak and prejudiced writer. It was objected by his adversaries, to the first edition of his "Acts and Monuments," that it contained several accounts of martyrdoms of persons, who were found to be living some years after its publication; and the objection, it should seem, was not wholly without foundation.

Several other works of inferior note were likewise published by Fox; among which ought to be mentioned "The Four Evangelists, in the Old Saxon tongue, with the English thereunto adjoined," 1571, 4to.

HOLINSHED.

RAPHAEL HOLINSHED, famous for the Chronicles which go under his name, was descended of a family which lived at Bosely, in Cheshire; but both the place and time of his birth, as well as most other circumstances of his life, are unknown. According to some accounts he was a clergyman; while others make him steward to Thomas Burdett, of Bromcote, in the county of Warwick, esq. Of the time of his death we are also ignorant; but it appears from his will, prefixed by Hearne to his edition of Camden's Annals, that it happened between 1578, and 1582.

In the compilement of his Chronicles, Holinshed had several coadjutors. Of these, Harrison was bred at Westminster school, whence he was removed to Oxford, and subse-

quently became chaplain to sir William Brooke, by whom he was preferred. He died in 1593.

Another contributor was Hooker, (uncle to the celebrated author of Ecclesiastical Polity,) who was born at Exeter, about 1524, was educated at Oxford, afterwards travelled into Germany, and at Cologne took a degree in law. He next went to Strasburg, where he studied divinity under the famous Peter Martyr. On his return to England, he settled in his native place, where he became a citizen of consideration, and was returned member for the parliament held at Westminster, in 1571. He died in 1601; and was the author of several works, in addition to his contributions to the Chronicle in question.

Of Boteville, another of his coadjutors, we know nothing, except that Hearne stiles him—"a man of great learning and judgment, and a wonderful lover of antiquities." Several others lent their aid, as R. Stanihurst, Abraham Flemming, John Stow, &c.

These Chronicles were first published at London, 1577, in two volumes, folio; and afterwards, 1587, in three; though the two first are commonly bound together. In this second edition, several sheets in the second and third

volumes, which had given offence to Elizabeth and her ministry, were omitted; these have been since reprinted apart, under the title of "Castrations."

The first volume commences with "An Historical Description of the island of Britain, in three books, by William Harrison;" which is followed by "The History of England, from the time that it was first inhabited, until the time that it was last conquered," by R. Holinshed. The second volume contains "The Description, Conquest, Inhabitation, and troublesome Estate of Ireland, particularly the Description of that Kingdom," by Richard Stanihurst:—"The Conquest of Ireland, translated from the Latin of Giraldus Cambrensis," by John Hooker, *alias* Vowel, of Exeter, gent. —"The Chronicles of Ireland, beginning where Giraldus did end, continued until the year 1509, from Philip Flatsbury, Henry of Marlborough, Edward Campian," &c. by R. Holinshed; and thence to the year 1586, by R. Stanihurst and J. Hooker.—"The Description of Scotland, translated from the Latin of Hector Boethius," by R. H. or W. R.—"The History of Scotland, containing the beginning, increase, proceedings, continuance, acts, and

government of the Scottish nation, from the original thereof unto the year 1571," gathered by Raphael Holinshed, and continued from 1571 to 1586, by Francis Boteville, *alias* Thin, and others.—The third volume begins with "Duke William, the Norman, commonly called the Conqueror; and descends by degrees of years to all the kings and queens of England;" first compiled by R. Holinshed, and by him extended to 1577; augmented and continued to 1586, by John Stow, Fr. Thin, Abraham Flemming, and others.

The following account of the diet, &c. of our predecessors, is taken from "Harrison's Description of Britain," and is curious as indicating the state of society, and particularly of Manners:—

Of the Food and Diet of the English.

Book 2.—*Chap.* 6.

Our tables are oftentimes more plentifully garnished than those of other nations, and this trade hath continued with us even since the very beginning. For before the Romans found out and knew the way unto our country, our predecessors fed largely upon flesh and milk, whereof there was great abundance in this isle, because they applied their

chief studies unto pasturage and feeding. After this manner also did our Welsh Britons order themselves in their diet so long as they lived of themselves, but after they became to be united and made equal with the English, they framed their appetites to live after our manner, so that at this day there is very little difference between us in our diets.

In Scotland likewise, they have given themselves (of late years to speak of,) unto very ample and large diet, wherein as for some respect nature doth make them equal with us: so otherwise they far exceed us in over much and distemperate gormandize, and so ingross their bodies, that divers of them do oft become unapt to any other purpose than to spend their times in large tabling and belly cheer. Against this pampering of their carcasses doth Hector Boetius, in his description of the country, very sharply inveigh in the first chapter of that treatise. Henry Wardlaw also, bishop of St. Andrews, noting their vehement alteration from competent frugality into excessive gluttony, to be brought out of England with James I. (who had been long time prisoner there under the fourth and fifth Henries, and at his return carried divers English gentlemen into his country with him, whom he very honourably preferred there,) doth vehemently exclaim against the same in open parliament, holden at Perth, 1433, before the three estates, and so bringeth his purpose to pass in the

end, by force of his learned persuasions, that a law was presently made there for the restraint of superfluous diet. Amongst other things baked meats, (dishes never before this man's days seen in Scotland,) were generally so provided for by virtue of this act, that it was not lawful for any to eat of the same under the degree of a gentleman, and those only but on high and festival days; but alas! it was soon forgotten.

In old times these North Britons did give themselves universally to great abstinence, and in time of wars their soldiers would often feed but once, or twice at the most, in two or three days, (especially if they held themselves in secret, or could have no issue out of their bogs and morasses, through the presence of the enemy,) and in this distress they used to eat a certain kind of confection, whereof so much as a bean would qualify their hunger above common expectation. In woods, moreover, they lived with herbs and roots, or if these shifts served not, thorough want of such provision at hand, then used they to creep into the water, or said moorish plots, up unto the chins, and there remain a long time, only to qualify the heats of their stomachs by violence, which otherwise would have wrought and been ready to oppress them for hunger and want of sustenance. In those days likewise it was taken for a great offence over all, to eat either goose, hare, or hen, because of a certain superstitious opinion which

they had conceived of those three creatures: howbeit, after that the Romans (I say) had once found an entrance into this island, it was not long ere open shipwreck was made of this religious observation, so that in process of time, so well the North and South Britons, as the Romans, gave over to make such difference in meats as they had done before.

From thenceforth also unto our days, and even in this season wherein we live, there is no restraint of any meat, either for religion's sake, or public order in England; but it is lawful for every man to feed upon whatsoever he is able to purchase, except it be upon those days whereon eating of flesh is especially forbidden by the laws of the realm, which order is taken only to the end our numbers of cattle may be the better increased, and that abundance of fish which the sea yieldeth, more generally received. Beside this there is great consideration had in making of this law for the preservation of the navy, and maintenance of convenient numbers of sea-faring men, both which would otherwise greatly decay, if some means were not found whereby they might be increased. But howsoever this case standeth, white meats, milk, butter, and cheese, which were never so dear as in my time, and wont to be accounted of as one of the chief stays throughout the island, are now reputed as food appertaining only to the inferior sort; while such as are more wealthy, do feed upon the

flesh of all kinds of cattle accustomed to be eaten, all sorts of fish taken upon our coasts and in our fresh rivers, and such diversity of wild and tame fowls as are either bred in our island, or brought over unto us from other countries of the main.

In number of dishes and change of meat, the nobility of England, (whose cooks are for the most part musical headed Frenchmen and strangers), do most exceed, *sith* there is no day in manner that passeth over their heads, wherein they have not only beef, mutton, veal, lamb, kid, pork, cony, capon, pig, or so many of these as the season yieldeth: but also some portion of the red or fallow deer, beside great variety of fish and wild fowl, and thereto sundry other delicates wherein the sweet hand of the sea-faring Portingale is not wanting: so that for a man to dine with one of them, and to taste of every dish that standeth before him, (which few used to do, but each one feedeth upon that meat him best liketh for the time, the beginning of every dish notwithstanding being reserved unto the greatest personage that sitteth at the table, to whom it is drawn up still by the waiters as order requireth, and from whom it descendeth again even to the lower end, whereby each one may taste thereof,) is rather to yield unto a conspiracy with a great deal of meat for the speedy suppression of natural health, than the use of a necessary mean to satisfy himself with a

competent repast, to sustain his body withal. But as this large feeding is not seen in their guests, no more is it in their own persons: for *sith* they have daily much resort unto their tables, (and many times unlooked for,) and thereto retain great numbers of servants, it is very requisite and expedient for them to be somewhat plentiful in this behalf.

The chief part likewise of their daily provision is brought in before them (commonly in silver vessels, if they be of the degree of barons, bishops, and upwards,) and placed on their tables, whereof when they have taken what it pleaseth them, the rest is reserved, and afterwards sent down to their serving men and waiters, who feed thereon in like sort with convenient moderation, their reversion also being bestowed upon the poor, which lie ready at their gates in great numbers to receive the same. This is spoken of the principal tables whereat the nobleman, his lady, and guests, are accustomed to sit; beside which they have a certain ordinary allowance daily appointed for their halls, where the chief officers and household servants, (for all are not permitted by custom to wait upon their master,) and with them such inferior guests do feed as are not of calling to associate the nobleman himself; so that besides those afore-mentioned, which are called to the principal table, there are commonly forty or three-score persons fed in those halls, to the great relief of such

poor suitors and strangers also as oft be partakers thereof, and otherwise like to dine hardly. As for drink, it is usually filled in pots, goblets, jugs, bowls of silver in noblemen's houses; also in fine Venice glasses of all forms, and for want of these elsewhere, in pots of earth of sundry colours and moulds, whereof many are garnished with silver, or at the leastwise in pewter; all which notwithstanding are seldom set on the table, but each one, as necessity urgeth, calleth for a cup of such drink as him listeth to have; so that when he hath tasted of it, he delivereth the cup again to some one of the standers by, who making it clean by pouring out the drink that remaineth, restoreth it to the cupboard from whence he fetched the same. By this device, (a thing brought up at the first by Mnesteus of Athens, in conservation of the honour of Orestes, who had not yet made expiation for the death of his adulterous parents Egistus and Clitemnestra,) much idle tippling is furthermore cut off: for if the full pots should continually stand at the elbow, or near the trencher, divers would always be dealing with them; whereas now they drink seldom, and only when necessity urgeth, and so avoid the note of great drinking, or often troubling of the servitors with filling of their bowls. Nevertheless, in the noblemen's halls this order is not used, neither in any man's house commonly under the degree of a knight,

or esquire of great revenues. It is a world to see in these our days, wherein gold and silver most aboundeth, how that our gentility as lothing those metals, (because of the plenty,) do now generally choose rather the Venice glasses both for our wine and beer, than any of those metals or stone wherein before time we have been accustomed to drink; but such is the nature of man generally, that it most coveteth things difficult to be attained; and such is the estimation of this stuff, that many become rich only with their new trade unto Murana, (a town near to Venice, situate on the Adriatic sea,) from whence the very best are daily to be had, and such as for beauty do well near match the crystal or the ancient *Murrhina vasa*, whereof now no man hath knowledge. And as this is seen in the gentility, so in the wealthy commonalty the like desire of glass is not neglected, whereby the gain gotten by their purchase is yet much more increased to the benefit of the merchant. The poorest also will have glass if they may, but *sith* the Venetian is somewhat too dear for them, they content themselves with such as are made at home of fern and burned stone; but in fine, all go one way, that is, to shards at the last: so that our great expenses in glasses, (beside that they breed much strife toward such as have the charge of them,) are worse of all bestowed, in mine opinion, because their pieces do turn unto no profit.

If the philosopher's stone were once found, and one part hereof mixed with forty of molten glass, it would induce such a metallic toughness thereunto, that a fall should nothing hurt it in such manner, yet it might, peradventure, bunch or batter it; nevertheless that inconvenience were quickly to be redressed by the hammer. But whither am I slipped?

The gentlemen and merchants keep much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himself with four, five, or six dishes, when they have but small resort, or peradventure with one, or two, or three at the most, when they have no strangers to acompany them at their tables. And yet their servants have their ordinary diet assigned, besides such as is left at their masters boards, and not appointed to be brought thither the second time, which nevertheless is often seen generally in venison, lamb, or some especial dish, whereon the merchant man himself liketh to feed when it is cold, or peradventure, for sundry causes incident to the feeder, is better so, than if it were warm or hot. To be short; at such time as the merchants do make their ordinary or voluntary feasts, it is a world to see what great provision is made of all manner of delicate meats, from every quarter of the country, wherein beside that they are often comparable herein to the nobility of the land, they will seldom regard any thing that the butcher usually killeth, but reject the same as not worthy to

come in place. In such cases also geliffes of all colours, mixed with a variety in the representation of sundry flowers, herbs, trees, forms of beasts, fish, fowls, and fruits; and thereunto marchpane wrought with no small curiosity, tarts of divers hues and sundry denominations, conserves of old fruits, foreign and home-bred, suckets, codiniacs, marmilades, marchpane, sugarbread, gingerbread, florentines, wild fowl, venison of all sorts, and sundry outlandish confections, altogether seasoned with sugar, (which Pliny calleth *Mel ex arundinibus*, a device not common nor greatly used in old time at the table, but only in medicine, although it grew in Arabia, India, and Sicilia,) do generally bear the sway, besides infinite devices of our own not possible for me to remember. Of the potatoe and such *venerous* roots as are brought out of Spain, Portingale, and the Indies, to furnish up our banquets, I speak not, wherein our *Mures* of no less force, and to be had about Crosby Ravenswath, do now begin to have place.

But among all these, the kind of meat which is obtained with most difficulty and cost, is commonly taken for the most delicate, and thereupon each guest will soonest desire to feed. And as all estates do exceed herein, I mean for strangeness and number of costly dishes, so these forget not to use the like excess in wine, insomuch as there is no kind to be had, (neither any where more store of all

sorts than in England, although we have none growing with us, but yearly to the proportion of 20,000 or 30,000 tun and upwards, notwithstanding the daily restraints of the same, brought over unto us,) whereof at great meetings there is not some store to be had. Neither do I mean this of small wines only, as claret, white, red, French, &c. which amount to about fifty-six sorts, according to the number of regions from whence they come: but also of the thirty kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spanish, Canarian, &c. whereof Veruage, Cate pument, Raspis, Muscadell, Romnie, Bastard Tire, Osey, Caprike, Claret, and Malmsey, are not least of all accounted of, because of their strength and valure. For as I have said in meat, so the stronger the wine is, the more it is desired; by means whereof in old time, the best was called *Theologicum*, because it was had from the clergy and religious men, unto whose houses many of the laity would often send for bottles filled with the same, being sure that they would neither drink nor be served of the worst, or such as was any ways mingled or brewed by the vintner; nay, the merchant would have thought that his soul should have gone straitway to the devil, if he should have served them with other than the best. Furthermore, when these have had their course which nature yieldeth, sundry sorts of artificial stuff, as ypocras and wormwood wine, must in like manner succeed in their

turns; beside stale ale and strong beer, which nevertheless bear the greatest brunt in drinking, and are of so many sorts and ages as it pleaseth the brewer to make them. * * * * *

The artificer and husbandman make greatest account of such meat as they may soonest come by, and have it quickliest ready. Their food also consisteth principally in beef, and such meat as the butcher selleth; that is to say, mutton, veal, lamb, pork, &c. whereof the artificer findeth great store in the markets adjoining; beside souse, brawn, bacon, fruit, pies of fruit, fowls of sundry sorts, cheese, butter, eggs, &c. as the other wanteth it not at home, by his own provision, which is at the best hand, and commonly least charge.

In feasting also, this latter sort do exceed after their manner; especially at bridals, purifications of women, and such like odd meetings, where it is incredible to tell what meat is consumed and spent, each one bringing such a dish, or so many as his wife and he do consult upon; but always with this consideration, that the *leefer*[1] friend shall have the best entertainment. This also is commonly seen at these banquets, that the good man of the house is not charged with any thing, saving bread, drink, house-room, and fire. But the artificers in cities and good towns do deal far otherwise: for al-

[1] *leef*, willing, liberal.

beit, that some of them do suffer their jaws to go oft before their claws, and divers of them by making good cheer, do hinder themselves and other men; yet the wiser sort can handle the matter well enough in these junkettings; and therefore their frugality deserveth commendation. To conclude, both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficiently liberal, and very friendly at their tables; and when they meet, they are so merry without malice, and plain without inward craft and subtlety, that it would do a man good to be in company among them. Herein only are the inferior sort to be blamed, that being thus assembled, their talk is now and then such as savoureth of scurrility and ribaldry, a thing naturally incident to carters and clowns, who think themselves not to be merry and welcome, if their foolish veins in this behalf, be never so little restrained. This is moreover to be added in these assemblies, that if they happen to stumble upon a piece of venison and a cup of wine, or very strong beer or ale, which latter they commonly provide against their appointed days, they think their cheer so great, and themselves to have fared so well as the lord mayor of London, with whom, when their bellies be full, they will often make comparison.

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Hitherto of the diet of my countrymen, and somewhat more at large, peradventure, than many men

will like of; wherefore, I think good now to finish this chapter; and so will I when I have added a few other things incident unto that which goeth before, whereby the whole process of the same shall fully be delivered, and my promise to my friend in this behalf performed. Heretofore there hath been much more time spent in eating and drinking than commonly is in these days: for whereas of old we had breakfasts in the forenoons, beverages or nuntions after dinner; and thereto *rere-suppers* generally when it was time to go to rest, (a toy brought in by Hard Canutus,) now these odd repasts, thanked be God, are very well left, and each one in manner (except here and there some young hungry stomach that cannot fast till dinner-time,) contenteth himself with dinner and supper only. The Normans, disliking the gormandize of Canutus, ordained after their arrival, that no table should be covered above once in the day, which Huntingdon imputeth to their avarice; but in the end, either wexing weary of their own frugality, or suffering the cockle of old custom to overgrow the good corn of their new constitution, they fell to such liberty, that in often feeding, they surmounted Canutus, surnamed the Hardy. For whereas he covered his table but three or four times in the day, they spread their cloths five or six times, and in such wise as I before rehearsed. They brought in also the custom of long and stately sitting at meat,

which is not yet left, although it be a great expence of time, and worthy reprehension. For the nobility, gentlemen, and merchantmen, especially at great meetings, do sit commonly till two or three of the clock at afternoon, so that with many it is an hard matter to rise from the table to go to evening prayer, and return from thence to come time enough to supper. For my part, I am persuaded that the purpose of the Normans, at the first, was to reduce the ancient Roman order in feeding once in the day, and toward the evening, as I have read and noted.

The above extract, from the curious information it contains, could not well have been shortened; but its length precludes my giving a specimen from either of the other contributors.—What would our forefathers think of dinners begun at six and eight o'clock, and protracted to beyond midnight!

The Chronicles compiled by Fabian, Hall, Grafton, and Holinshed, produced a considerable revolution in the state of popular knowledge. Prior to the appearance of these elaborate and voluminous compilations, the history of England was shut up from the general reader in the Latin narratives of the monkish

annalists. And though small portions of English history are contained in the *Polychronicon*, and in the Chronicles of England, they are so interwoven with fable, as to be often of little real utility. Fabian, indeed, retains the romantic origin of the Britons; and even Holinshed's work commences with a fabulous narrative, by Harrison, though different from that of his early predecessors. But with Holinshed fable dies; the historians and chroniclers subsequent to him, call our attention to accounts which, for the most part, are proper subjects for authentic and rational history.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

OR Sydney, son of sir Henry Sidney, by Mary his wife, eldest daughter of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, was born in 1554, at Penshurst in Kent. His father being lord president of Wales, he was sent to school at Shrewsbury, in the vicinity, and afterwards entered, at the age of 12 or 13, the College of Christ-church, Oxford. Quitting the university in 1572, he soon after commenced his travels, though only 18 years old; and in France, Charles IX. is said to have been so struck with his merit, that he made him one of the gentlemen of his chamber. This, however, was justly thought to be an act of treacherous favour in that prince, with a view to decoy admiral Coligni and his adherents to Paris, at the king of Navarre's wedding, when the pro-

testants thinking themselves secure by that marriage, were barbarously massacred on the 24th of August, 1572. At this awful juncture, sir Francis Walsingham being resident at Paris as ambassador from queen Elizabeth, Sidney, with many others, took refuge in his house. Leaving Paris soon after, he pursued his route through Germany and Italy, and returned to England in 1575.

He was knighted in 1583; and some time after appointed governor of Flushing, one of the cautionary towns delivered by the Dutch to queen Elizabeth; and also general of the horse under his uncle Robert, earl of Leicester. His high merit and fame as a general in the Low Countries gained him the honour of being nominated, on the death of Stephen Batori, for the crown of Poland; but Elizabeth refused to aid him with her interest, impatient of the thought of losing him. His authority in the United Provinces became so powerful, that prospects calculated to excite and reward ambition opened before him; but to his glory be it spoken, his reason was accustomed to cast in the opposite scale his duties as a patriot and a man, and thus preserved the just equilibrium of his soul. He

died in 1586, at the age of 32, from a wound he had received in the thigh, in a battle near Zutphen, in Gelderland.

After he had received his death-wound, being overcome with thirst from excessive bleeding, he called for drink, which was immediately brought him. At the moment he was lifting it to his mouth, a poor soldier was carried by, desperately wounded, who fixed his eyes eagerly upon the bottle. Sidney observing this, instantly delivered it to him, with these words—"Thy necessity is yet greater than mine."

Sir Philip Sidney was regarded by his cotemporaries with enthusiastic admiration. His valour, his generosity and nobleness of soul, his warm humanity, which prompted him to relieve the distressed, not to mention his intellectual polish and superiority, interested and attached all hearts. So deep was the sorrow for his untimely fate, that many months after his death, it was thought unbecoming for any gentleman of quality to appear at court or in the city, in any light or gaudy apparel.

As an author, he is remembered chiefly by his Arcadia, a pastoral Romance, which was written about the year 1580; and may be said

to have owed its birth to a quarrel with Edward Vere, earl of Oxford, at a tennis-court, in consequence of which he retired for a while from court, during which recess it was composed. It appears, that he wrote it simply for the amusement of his sister Mary, the wife of Henry, earl of Pembroke; that it was never designed for publication, as he desired upon his death-bed that it might be suppressed. Notwithstanding this, it was published, and so universally read and admired, as to come to an eighth impression, as early as 1633.

The description of Arcadia presents an interesting picture of the simplicity and innocence of the pastoral life.—Musidorus is shipwrecked on the coast of Laconia, where he is found by two Arcadian shepherds, Strephon and Claius, who conduct him to their own country, &c.

Now sir, thus for ourselves it is, we are in profession but shepherds, and in this country of Laconia, little better than strangers; and therefore neither in skill, nor ability of power, greatly to stead you. But what we can present unto you is this. Arcadia, of which country we are, is but a little

way hence, and even upon the next confines, there dwelleth a gentleman, by name Kallander, who vouchsafeth much favour unto us—a man who for his hospitality is so much haunted, that no news stirs, but comes to his ears; for his upright dealing so beloved of his neighbours, that he hath many ever ready to do him their uttermost service; and by the great good will our prince bears him, may soon obtain the use of his name and credit, which hath a principal sway, not only in his own Arcadia, but in all these countries of Peloponnesus. And (which is worth all) all these things give him not so much power, as his nature gives him will to benefit; so that it seems, no music is so sweet to his ear as deserved thanks. To him we will bring you; and there you may recover again your health, without which you cannot be able to make any diligent search for your friend [Pirocles, who had been taken by pirates]: and therefore you must labour for it. Besides, we are sure, the comfort of courtesy, and ease of wise council, shall not be wanting.

Musidorus (who besides he was merely unacquainted in the country, had his wits astonished with sorrow) gave easy consent to that, from which he saw no reason to disagree; and therefore, they took their journey together through Laconia; Claius and Strephon by course carrying his chest for him, Musidorus only bearing in his countenance evident

marks of a sorrowful mind, supported with a weak body; which they perceiving, and knowing that the violence of sorrow is not at the first to be striven withal (being like a mighty beast, sooner tamed with following, than overthrown by withstanding) they gave way to it for that day and the next, never troubling him either with asking questions, or finding fault with his melancholy, but rather fitting to his dolor dolorous discourses of their own and other folks misfortune. Which speeches, though they had not a lively entrance to his senses shut up in sorrow, like one half asleep, he took hold of much of the matters spoken unto him, so as a man may say, ere sorrow was aware, they made his thoughts bear away something else beside his own sorrow, which wrought so in him, that at length he grew content to mark their speeches, then to marvel at such wit in shepherds, after to like their company, and lastly, to vouchsafe conference. So that the third day after, in the time that the morning did strew roses and violets in the heavenly floor against the coming of the sun, the nightingales (striving one with the other, which could in most dainty variety recount their wrong-caused sorrow,) made them put off their sleep, and rising from under a tree (which that night had been their pavilion) they went on their journey, which by and by welcomed Musidorus' eyes (wearied with the wasted soil of Laconia) with de-

lightful prospects. There were hills which garnished their proud heights with stately trees; humble vallies, whose *base*[1] estate seemed comforted with the refreshing of silver rivers; meadows enamelled with all sorts of eye-pleasing flowers; thickets, which being lined with most pleasant shade were witnessed so too, by the cheerful disposition of many well-tuned birds; each pasture stored with sheep feeding with sober security, while the pretty lambs, with bleating oratory, craved the dams comfort. Here a shepherd's boy piping, as though he should never be old; there a young shepherdess knitting, and withal singing, and it seemed that her voice comforted her hands to work, and her hands kept time to her voice-music. As for the houses of the country (for many houses came under their eye) they were all scattered, no two being one by the other, and yet not so far off, as that it barred mutual succour: a shew as it were, of an accompaniable solitariness; and of a civil wildness. I pray you, said Musidorus, (then first unsealing his long silent lips) what countries be these we pass through, which are so divers in shew, the one wanting no store, the other having no store, but of want.

The country (answered Claius) where you were cast ashore, and now are past through, is Laconia,

1 *bas*, low.

not so poor by the barrenness of the soil (though in itself not passing fertile,) as by a civil war, which being these two years within the bowels of that estate, between the gentlemen and the peasants (by them named *helots*) hath in this sort as it were disfigured the face of nature, and made it so unhospitable as now you have found it; the towns neither of the one side nor the other willingly opening their gates to strangers, nor strangers willingly entering for fear of being mistaken.—But this country, where now you set your foot, is Arcadia, and even hard by is the house of Kalander, whither we lead you. This country being thus decked with peace, and (the child of peace) good husbandry. These houses you see so scattered are of men as we two are, that live upon the commodity of their sheep; and therefore, in the division of the Arcadian estate, are termed shepherds—a happy people, wanting little, because they desire not much.

The reviewer of Todd's works of Spencer, in the fourth volume of the Annual Review, has occasion to speak of the Arcadia, and of its author; and his character of both is so excellent, and at the same time so just, that I cannot do better than present it to the reader.—"It has been of late years the fashion (says he) to depreciate the genius of this most admirable

man; and Mr. Todd, who in matters of taste, exercises more faith than reason, joins in the common censure. Horace Walpole, we believe, was the first person who hazarded this opinion, and we all know how opinions are taken ready-made, upon such authority. Much of the praise which Sidney received, during his life, may have been paid to his rank; it may have been flattery as to its motive, but in its matter it was no more than the praise to which he was entitled. Nobody, it has been said, reads the Arcadia. We have known very many persons who have read it, men, women, and children, and never knew one who read it without deep interest and an admiration at the genius of the writer, great in proportion as they were capable of appreciating it. The verses are very bad, not that he was a bad poet, (on the contrary, much of his poetry is of high merit,) but because he was then versifying upon an impracticable system. Let the reader pass over all the Eclogues, as dull interludes unconnected with the drama, and if he do not delight in the story itself, in the skill with which the incidents are woven together and unravelled, and in the Shakespearian power and character of language, with which

they are painted; let him be assured the fault is in himself and not in the book."—This romance furnishes the first example of an allegorical work written originally in English.

The Arcadia has been modernized by Mrs. Stanley; but in this performance, though an elegant composition, we do not see the mind of Sidney; the peculiar flow of his thoughts is broken; and we can no longer discover his genuine intellectual character beneath the more fashionable attire of modern refinement. For my own part, I prefer the ideas of Sidney in their customary and natural dress; such transformations are entitled to little commendation.

2. Another of his pieces is entitled, "The Defence of Poesy;" London, 1595. It consists in the whole but of a few pages, of which the following is a favourable, and indeed a beautiful specimen.

The philosopher sheweth you the way, he informeth you of the particularities, as well of the tediousness of the way, as of the pleasant lodging you shall have when your journey is ended, as of the many bye-turnings that may divert you from your way; but this is to no man, but to him that will read him,

and read him with attentive, studious painfulness; which constant desire whosoever hath in him, hath already past half the hardness of the way, and therefore is beholden to the philosopher but for the other half. Nay, truly, learned men have learnedly thought, that where once reason hath so much overmastered passion, as that the mind hath a free desire to do well, the inward light each man hath in itself, is as good as a philosopher's book: since in nature we know it is well to do well, and what is well and what is evil, although not in the words of art which philosophers bestow upon us; for out of natural conceit the philosophers drew it. But to be moved to do that which we know, or to be moved with desire to know, *hoc opus hic labor est.*

Now, therein, of all sciences (I speak still of human, and, according to the human conceit) is our poet the monarch. For he doth not only shew the way, but giveth so sweet a prospect into the way, as will entice any man to enter into it: Nay, he doth, as if your journey should lie through a fair vineyard, at the very first, give you a cluster of grapes; that, full of that taste, you may long to pass farther. He beginneth not with obscure definitions; which must blur the margent with interpretations, and load the memory with doubtfulness; but he cometh to you with words set in delightful proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for,

the well enchanting skill of music; and with a tale, forsooth, he cometh unto you, with a tale which holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney corner; and pretending no more, doth intend the winning of the mind from wickedness to virtue; even as the child is often brought to take most wholesome things, by hiding them in such other as have a pleasant taste: which if one should begin to tell them the nature of the aloes or rhubarbarum they should receive, would sooner take their physic at their ears than their mouth. So is it in men (most of whom are childish in the best things, till they be cradled in their graves). Glad they will be to hear the tales of Hercules, Achilles, Cyrus, Æneas; and hearing them, must needs hear the right description of wisdom, valour, and justice; which, if they had been barely (that is to say, philosophically) set out, they would swear they be brought to school again.

3. Sidney wrote also a pamphlet, published among the Sidney-papers, in answer to the famous libel, entitled, "Leicester's Commonwealth;" in which he defends his uncle with great spirit; particularly in respect of what had been said of him in derogation of his honour.

Sidney's works complete were reprinted in 1725, in 3 vols. 8vo.

As a writer, lord Brook says of him, "that his end was not writing, even while he wrote; nor his knowledge moulded for tables or schools; but both his wit and understanding bent upon his heart to make himself and others, not in words or opinion, but in life and action, good and great."

SPENCER.

THE divine author of the Faery Queen belongs rather to a poetical than a prose series of writers; in prose, he has left only one small though valuable work. Spencer was born in London, about the year 1553; and descended from the ancient and honourable family of Spencer, of which himself was the greatest honour. "The nobility of the Spencers (says Gibbon) has been illustrated and enriched by the trophies of Marlborough; but I exhort them to consider the Faery Queen as the most precious jewel of their coronet." He was admitted, in 1569, at Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, in the humble academical rank of sizer; and having taken his degrees in arts, quitted the university, as supposed, and went

to reside with some relations in the north of England.

At Cambridge, he had become acquainted with Gabriel Harvey of Trinity-hall, by whose advice he removed, in 1578, to London. Here, Harvey introduced him to sir Philip Sidney, who extended towards him his generous and elevating friendship, and introduced him to the earl of Leicester, who gave him an appointment as agent in France and other parts, though it proved abortive. Soon after, however, or in 1580, lord Grey being appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, Spencer attended him in quality of secretary; but his lordship being recalled two years after, Spencer returned with him to England, where he continued till the death of his noble-hearted friend, sir Philip Sidney—a loss he never ceased to lament.

He obtained, in 1586, a grant of above 3000 acres out of the forfeited lands of the earl of Desmond, which, as he was obliged by his patent to cultivate, caused his removal to Ireland. His residence was at the castle of Kilcolman, in the county of Cork, where he was visited by sir Walter Ralegh, in whose company he came to England, and by whom he was introduced at court. Elizabeth granted him

a pension of 50l. a year, as laureat, though he is not thus styled in the patent.

The following year he returned to Ireland; where, in 1594, he married. In 1596, he again visited England and presented, as is inferred by Mr. Todd, his "View of the State of Ireland," to the queen. This is his only prose production, for which the queen, it appears, designed to reward him, as it justly merited; for a letter from Elizabeth to the Irish government, discovered by Mr. Malone, dated the last day of September, 1598, recommended him to be sheriff of Cork. But the rebellion of the earl of Tyrone breaking out next month, Spencer was forced to fly from the rebels, who burnt his house, his papers, and one of his children. He arrived in England, with a broken heart, and died in the January following at an inn, or lodging house in King's street, Westminster; not in King's street, Dublin, according to the common accounts. The researches of Mr. Todd in his late edition of Spencer's works, have also disproved most of the anecdotes which have been related of him. Thus, it is not true, that he was introduced to Sidney by means of the stanzas describing despair—that he sent to the queen the lines

about rhyme and reason, complaining that her intended bounty was withheld from him—lastly, that his merit was left unrewarded. That he died *comparatively* poor, having lost his large estate in Ireland, is unquestionably true; but he had still his pension from the queen, no inconsiderable sum in those days, and had, besides, abundant friends. Mr. Todd observes, "the burial having been ordered by the earl of Essex, may surely be considered as a mark of that nobleman's respect for the poet, without proving that the poet was starved. Of the man who had thus perished, a remarkable funeral might seem almost mockery; and yet the pall was held up by some of the poets of the time."

The "View of the State of Ireland," was called forth by the peculiar circumstances of that country in the time of the rebellion. The fate of Spenser, in respect of his possessions in Ireland, was necessarily involved in that of the country, and he could not be indifferent to the probable effects of the prevalent commotions. With a view to obviate these effects, he undertook to sketch and perfect a plan for the reduction of the island, within the short space of two winters. The plan was well con-

trived, but never carried into execution—a circumstance, perhaps, to which the rebels were indebted for their subsequent success. In this work, too, Spesner appears a zealous defender of the administration of lord Grey, who had been represented to Elizabeth as exercising cruelties which drove the rebels to desperation.

The piece is written in the form of dialogue, between Eudoxus and Irenæus. In the beginning, the author treats at some length of the customs and manners of the inhabitants; and thus the regulations and measures he afterwards proposes are judiciously adapted to their national character.

Iren. The difference of manners and customs doth follow the difference of nations and people. The which I have declared to you to have been three especially, which seated themselves here: to wit, first the Scythians; then the Gauls; and lastly, the English. Notwithstanding that I am not ignorant, that there were sundry nations which got footing in that land, of the which there yet remain divers great families and septs, of whom I will also in their proper places make mention. * * * *

I will begin then to count their customs in the

same order that I counted their nations, and first with the Scythian or Scottish manners: of the which there is one use amongst them, to keep their cattle, and to live themselves the most part of the year in *Boolies*, pasturing upon the mountains and waste wild places, and removing still to fresh land, as they have depastured the former. The which appeareth plain to be the manner of the Scythians, as you may read in Olaus Magnus, and Joh. Boemus, and yet is used among all the Tartarians, and the people about the Caspian Sea, which are naturally Scythians, to live in heards, as they call them; being the very same as the Irish *Boolies* are, driving their cattle continually with them, and feeding only on their milk and white meats.

Eudox. What fault can you find with this custom? For though it be an old Scythian use, yet it is very behooveful in this country of Ireland, where there are great mountains, and waste deserts full of grass, that the same should be eaten down, and nourish many thousands of cattle, for the good of the whole realm; which cannot (methinks) well be any other way, than by keeping those *Boolies* there, as ye have shewed.

Iren. But by this custom of *boolying*, there grow in the mean time many great enormities unto that commonwealth. For first, if there be any outlaws, or loose people (as they are never without

some) which live upon stealths and spoils, they are evermore succoured and find relief only in these *boolies*, being upon the waste places, whereas else they should be driven shortly to starve, or to come down to the towns to seek relief, where, by one means or other, they would soon be caught. Besides such stealths of cattle as they make, they bring commonly to those *boolies*, being upon those waste places, where they are readily received, and the thief harboured from danger of law, or such officers as might light upon him. Moreover, the people that thus live in those *boolies*, grow thereby the more barbarous, and live more licentiously than they could in towns, using what manners they list, and practising what mischiefs and villanies they will, either against the government there by their combinations, or against private men, whom they maligne, by stealing their goods, or murdering themselves: for there they think themselves half exempted from law and obedience, and having once tasted freedom, do, like a steer that hath been long out of his yoke, grudge and repine ever after, to come under rule again. * * * * * * *

They have another custom from the Scythians, that is, the wearing of *mantles*, and long *glibbs*, which is a thick curled bush of hair hanging down over their eyes, and monstrously disguising them; which are both very bad and hurtful. * * *

The next [custom] I have to treat of, is the manner of raising the cry in their conflicts, and at other troublesome times of uproar: the which is very natural Scythian, as you may read in Diodorus Siculus, and in Herodotus, describing the manner of the Scythians and Parthians coming to give the charge at battles; at which it is said, that they came running with a terrible yell, as if heaven and earth would have gone together; which is the very image of the Irish Hubbub, which their *kern* use at their first encounter. Besides, the same Herodotus writeth, that they used in battles to call upon the names of their captains or generals, and sometimes upon their greatest kings deceased, as in that battle of Tomyris and Cyrus: which custom to this day manifestly appeareth amongst the Irish. For at their joining of battle, they likewise call upon their captain's name, or the word of his ancestors. As they under Oneal cry, *Laundarg-abo*, that is, The bloody hand, which is Oneal's badge. They under Obrien call *Launlaider*, that is, The strong hand. And to their ensample the old English also, which there remaineth, have gotten up their cries Scythian-like, as *Crom-abo*, and *Butler-abo*. And here also lyeth open another manifest proof, that the Irish be Scythes or Scots; for in all their encounters, they use one very common word, crying, *Ferragh, Ferragh;* which is a Scottish word, to wit, the name of one of the first

kings of Scotland, called Feragus, or Fergus, which fought against the Picts, as you may read in Buchanan, *De Rebus Scoticis:* but as others write, it was long before that, the name of their chief captain, under whom they fought against the Africans; the which was then so fortunate unto them, that ever sithence they have used to call upon his name in their battles. * * * * * *

There be other sorts of cries also used amongst the Irish, which savour greatly of the Scythian barbarism; as their lamentations at their burials, with despairful outcries and immoderate wailings, the which Mr. Stanihurst might also have used for an argument to prove them Egyptians: for so in scripture it is mentioned, that the Egyptians lamented for the death of Joseph. Others think this custom to come from the Spaniards, for that they do immeasurably likewise bewail their dead. But the same is not proper Spanish, but altogether heathenish, brought in thither first either by the Scythians, or the Moors that were Africans, and long possessed that country. For it is the manner of all pagans and infidels to be intemperate in their wailings of their dead, for that they had no faith nor hope of salvation. And this ill custom also is specially noted by Diodorus Siculus, to have been in the Scythians, and is yet amongst the northern Scots at this day, as you may read in their Chronicles. * * * *

I will here take occasion, since I lately spake of their manner of cries, in joining of battle, to speak also somewhat of the manner of their arms, and array in battle, with other customs perhaps worthy the noting. And first of their arms and weapons, amongst which their broad swords are proper Scythian; for such the Scythes used commonly, as you may read in Olaus Magnus, and the same also the old Scots used, as you may read in Buchanan, and in Solinus, where the pictures of them are in the same form expressed. Also their short bows, and little quivers, with short bearded arrows, are very Scythian, as you may read in the same Olaus. And the same sort both of bows, quivers, and arrows, are at this day to be seen commonly amongst the northern Irish Scots, whose Scottish bows are not past three quarters of a yard long, with a string of wreathed hemp slackly bent, and whose arrows are not much above half an ell long, tipped with steel heads, made like common broad arrow heads, but much more sharp and slender; that they enter into a man or horse most cruelly, notwithstanding that they are shot forth weakly. Moreover, their long broad shields, made up with wicker rods, which are commonly used among the said northern Irish, but especially of the Scots, are brought from the Scythians, as you may read in Olaus Magnus, Solinus, and others: likewise their going to battle with-

out armour on their bodies or heads, but trusting to the thickness of their *glibs*, the which (they say) will sometimes bear off a good stroke, is mere Scythian, as you may see in the said images of old Scythes or Scots, set forth by Herodianus, and others. Besides, their confused kind of march in heaps, without any order or array, their clashing of swords together, their fierce running upon their enemies, and their manner of fight, resembleth altogether that which is read in histories to have been used of the Scythians. By which it may almost infallibly be gathered together, with other circumstances, that the Irish are very Scots or Scythes originally, though sithence intermingled with many other nations repairing and joining unto them. And to these I may also add another strong conjecture which cometh to my mind, that I have often observed there amongst them, the which are also written by sundry authors, to have been observed amongst the Scythians, by which it may very vehemently be presumed that the nations were anciently all one. For Plutarch (as I remember) in his treatise of Homer, endeavouring to search out the truth, what countryman Homer was, proveth it most strongly (as he thinketh) that he was an Æolian born, for that in describing a sacrifice of the Greeks, he omitted the loin, the which all the other Grecians (saving the Æolians) use to burn in their sacrifices: also for that

he makes the entrails to be roasted on five spits, which was the proper manner of the Æolians, who only, of all the nations of Græcia used to sacrifice in that sort. By which he inferreth necessarily, that Homer was an Æolian. And by the same reason may I as reasonably conclude, that the Irish are descended from the Scythians; for that they use (even to this day) some of the same ceremonies which the Scythians anciently used. As for example, you may read in Lucian, in that sweet dialogue, which is intitled, *Toxaris*, or, Of Friendship, that the common oath of the Scythians was by the sword and by fire; for that they accounted those two especial divine powers, which should work vengeance on the perjurers. So do the Irish at this day, when they go to battle, say certain prayers or charms to their swords, making a cross therewith upon the earth, and thrusting the points of their blades into the ground, thinking thereby to have the better success in fight. Also they use commonly to swear by their swords. Also the Scythians used, when they would bind any solemn vow or combination amongst them, to drink a bowl of blood together, vowing thereby to spend their last blood in that quarrel; and even so do the wild Scots, as you may read in Buchanan; and some of the northern Irish. Likewise at the kindling of the fire, and lighting of candles, they say certain prayers, and use some other super-

stitious rites, which shew that they honour the fire and the light: for all those northern nations having been used to be annoyed with much cold and darkness, are wont therefore to have the fire and the sun in great veneration: like as contrariwise the Moors and Egyptians, which are much offended and grieved with extreme heat of the sun, fall to cursing and banning of him as their plague. You may also read in the same book, in the tale of Arsacomas, that it was the manner of the Scythians, when any one of them was heavily wronged, and would assemble unto him any forces of people to join with him in his revenge, to sit in some public place on certain days upon an ox-hide, to which there would resort all such persons as, being disposed to take arms, would enter into his pay, or join with him in his quarrel. And the same you may likewise read to have been the ancient manner of the wild Scots, which are indeed the very natural Irish. Moreover, the Scythians used to swear by their king's hand, as Olaus sheweth. And so do the Irish use now to swear by their lord's hand; and to forswear it, hold it more criminal than to swear by God. Also the Scythians said, that they were once a year turned into wolves, and so is it written of the Irish: though Master Camden in a better sense doth suppose it was a disease, called Lycanthropia, so named of the wolf. And yet some of the Irish do use to make

the wolf their gossip. The Scythians used also to seeth the flesh in the hide; and so do the northern Irish. The Scythians used to draw the blood of the beast living, and to make meat thereof: and so do the Irish in the north still. Many such customs I could recount unto you, as of their old manner of marrying, of burying, of dancing, of singing, of feasting, of cursing, though christians have wiped out the most part of them: by resemblance whereof, it might plainly appear to you, that the nations are the same, but that by the reckoning of these few, which I have told unto you, I find my speech drawn out to a greater length than I purposed. Thus much only for this time, I hope, shall suffice you, to think that the Irish are anciently deduced from the Scythians. * * * * *

Eudox. But have you (I pray you) observed any such customs amongst them, brought likewise from the Spaniards or Gauls, as these from the Scythians? That may sure be very material to your first purpose.

Iren. Some perhaps I have, and who that will by this occasion more diligently mark and compare their customs, shall find many more. But there are fewer remaining of the Gauls or Spaniards, than of the Scythians, by reason that the parts which they then possessed, lying upon the coast of the western and southern sea, were sithence visited with strangers

and foreign people, repairing thither for traffic, and for fishing, which is very plentiful upon those coasts: for the trade and inter-deal of sea-coast nations one with another worketh more civility and good fashions (all seamen being naturally desirous of new fashions) than amongst the inland folk, which are seldom seen of foreigners; yet some of such as I have noted, I will recount unto you. And first, I will for the better credit of the rest, shew you one out of their statutes, among which it is enacted, that no man shall wear his beard, only on the upper lip, shaving all his chin. And this was the ancient manner of the Spaniards, as yet it is of all the Mahometans, to cut off all their beards close, save only their *mustachios* which they wear long. And the cause of this use was, for that they being bred in a hot country, found much hair on their faces and other parts to be noyous unto them; for which cause they did cut it most away: like as contrarily all other nations brought up in cold countries, do use to nourish their hair, to keep them the warmer; which was the cause that the Scythians and Scots wore *glibbs*, (as I shewed you) to keep their heads warm, and long beards to defend their faces from cold. From them also (I think) came saffron shirts and smocks, which were devised by them in those hot countries, where saffron is very common and rife, for avoiding that evil which cometh by much sweating, and long

wearing of linen: also the women amongst the old Spaniards had the charge of all household affairs, both at home and abroad (as Boemus writeth) though now the Spaniards use it quite otherwise. And so have the Irish women the trust and care of all things, both at home and in the field. Likewise round leather targets is the Spanish fashion, who used it (for the most part) painted, which in Ireland they use also in many places, coloured after their rude fashion. Moreover, the manner of their women's riding on the wrong side of the horse, I mean with their faces toward the right side, as the Irish use, is (as they say) old Spanish, and some say African: for amongst them the women (they say) use so to ride. Also the deep smock sleeve, which the Irish women use, they say, was old Spanish, and is used yet in Barbary: and yet that should seem rather to be an old English fashion: for in armoury the fashion of the *manche*,[1] which is given in arms, by many, being indeed nothing else but a sleeve, is fashioned much like to that sleeve. And that knights in ancient times used to wear their mistresses' or love's sleeve upon their arms; as appeareth by that which is written of sir Launcelot, that he wore the sleeve of the fair maid of Astelloth in a tourney, whereat queen Guenever was much displeased. * * * *

[1] *manche*, Fr. sleeve.

There is amongst the Irish a certain kind of people called *Bards*, which are to them instead of poets, whose profession is to set forth the praises or dispraises of men, in their poems or rithmes; the which are had in so high regard and estimation amongst them, that none dare displease them for fear to run into reproach through their offence, and to be made infamous in the mouths of all men. For their verses are taken up with a general applause, and usually sung at all feasts and meetings by certain other persons, whose proper function that is, who also receive for the same great rewards and reputation amongst them. * * * *

Such poets as in their writings do labour to better the manners of men, and thorough the sweet bait of their numbers to steal into the young spirits a desire of honour and virtue, are worthy to be had in great respect. But these Irish bards are for the most part of another mind, and so far from instructing young men in moral discipline, that they themselves do more deserve to be sharply disciplined: for they seldom use to choose unto themselves the doings of good men for the arguments of their poems, but whomsoever they find to be most licentious of life, most bold and lawless in his doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of disobedience and rebellious disposition; him they set up and glorify in

their rithmes, him they praise to the people, and to young men make an example to follow. * * *

The song, when it was first made and sung to a person of high degree there, was bought (as their manner is) for forty crowns.

Eudox. And well worthy sure. But tell me (I pray you) have they any art in their compositions? Or be they any thing witty or well-favoured, as poems should be?

Iren. Yes truly, I have caused divers of them to be translated unto me, that I might understand them; and surely they savoured of sweet wit, and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornaments of poetry; yet were they sprinkled with some pretty flowers of their natural device, which gave good grace and comeliness unto them; the which it is great pity to see so abused, to the gracing of wickedness and vice, which with good usage would serve to adorn and beautify virtue. * * *

This little work contains probably the best account extant of the customs, manners, and national character of the Irish; of which species of information I have extracted no inconsiderable portion. Compared with the

extent of the book, the extract is indeed too long; but the value of the matter, and the celebrity of the author, will be deemed a sufficient apology.

SIR WALTER RALEGH.

WALTER RALEGH, descended from an ancient family, and allied to the Courtenays, earls of Devonshire, and other illustrious houses, was the son of Walter Ralegh, Esq. of Fardel, in the parish of Cornwood, near Plymouth, and born upon a farm called Hayes, in the parish of Budley, Devonshire, in 1552. He entered commoner of Oriel College, Oxford, about the year 1568, though it appears that he continued but a short time at the university: for some time in the following year, according to Camden, we find him in France; where, Hooker says, "he spent good part of his youth in wars and martial services." He served with the Hugonots, and escaped the massacre of St. Bartholomew, by taking re-

fuge with sir Philip Sidney, in the house of the English ambassador. The assertion that he became student of the Middle Temple, after quitting college, is disproved by his own testimony; for, in his reply to the attorney-general, on his arraignment, he lays a heavy imprecation on himself, "if ever he read a word of law or statutes, before he was a prisoner in the Tower."

He is supposed to have returned to England in 1575. About two years after, he served in Holland against Don John of Austria; and on his return home, accompanied sir Henry Gilbert, his uterine brother, on an expedition, the object of which was to plant and inhabit certain northern parts of America—an expedition, which, though unfortunate, kindled his spirit of maritime enterprize. In this martial and adventurous life, he had now spent ten years; yet never lost sight of his own improvement. He slept only five hours of the night, that he might regularly devote four to study.

His next military destination was to Ireland, where he was eminently serviceable in quelling the rebellion in 1580; and had the misfortune to see the Spanish prisoners at Smerwich Fort

put to death by order from the lord lieutenant. It was at this period he became acquainted with Spenser, (as before mentioned) then secretary to lord Grey.

About the year 1582, he was admitted to court, and employed soon after in several embassies. A patent was granted him by her majesty, in 1584, for himself, his heirs and assigns, to discover "such remote heathen and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any christian prince, nor inhabited by christian people, as to him or them should seem good," and to hold the same with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, &c. Two ships were soon after fitted out for an American voyage, by the direction, as some say, at the expence, of Ralegh. In this voyage, part of Virginia was discovered, of which an account was written by one of the captains (Barlowe) to Ralegh, who laid it before Elizabeth.

In the approaching sessions of parliament, 1584, he was elected, in company with sir William Courtenay, one of the knights of the shire for the county of Devon, and about the same time received the honour of knighthood.

Early in 1583, sir Walter projected a second voyage to Virginia, and seven sail were got ready for sea, with a hundred men aboard, with the design of colonizing the country; but the expedition failed through an unlucky accident.

On the quelling of the Munster rebellion, the extensive territories of the earl of Desmond were forfeited to the crown. The forfeiture consisted in the whole of 574,000 acres, of which Ralegh obtained 12,000, and which he planted at his own expence. This estate he sold, at the close of the queen's reign, to Richard Boyle, afterwards earl of Cork, and which was the foundation of that family's fortune. He was next appointed, by her majesty, seneschal of the duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord-warden of the Stannaries, in Devonshire and Cornwall; and in 1586, received the additional honour of being appointed captain of the guard, as also lieutenant-general of the county of Cornwall. The year following, he obtained a grant of the lands of Anthony Babington, the leader of the conspiracy in favour of Mary queen of Scots.

About this time also, he was preparing to

replace his unsuccessful colony in Virginia, by a new one, consisting of 150 men under the command of Mr. John White, appointed governor, and twelve assistants, to whom he gave a charter, and incorporated them under the firm—"Governor and Assistants of the city of Ralegh, in Virginia." This was the fourth voyage to that country, a third having been fruitless, in consequence of the failure of the first.

In 1587, we find the name of Ralegh in the council of war, called November 27th, for putting the forces of the realm in the best posture of defence against the celebrated armada. He was also of the number of those who equipped vessels at their own charge, to reinforce the fleet. In addition to his other honours, he was one of the gentlemen of her majesty's privy chamber.

Of Virginia he had hitherto been the sole proprietor; but finding his difficulties grow upon him, having expended 40,000l. upon the project, he assigned over, in 1589, to a company of gentlemen and merchants of London, the right of continuing the plantation with English subjects, reserving to himself only the fifth part of all gold and silver ore. One re-

markable consequence of these voyages was, that some of the returning settlers first brought tobacco into England, on the 27th of July, 1586.

After the defeat of the Spanish armada, Ralegh was among the 20,000 volunteers who joined in the unsuccessful enterprise to place Don Antonio on the Crown of Portugal; in consideration of which, he, with the principal of the adventurers, was honoured by the queen with a golden chain. But shortly afterwards he incurred her majesty's displeasure, from what cause is not distinctly known, though the jealousy of Essex is supposed to have had a share in it. He was sent, or rather banished to Ireland, where he visited Spenser at his house of Kilcolman; and whom, on his return and reconciliation, he introduced to Elizabeth. Ralegh succeeded sir Philip Sidney as the elevating friend of Spenser.

Having formed a design against the Spaniards in the West-Indies, particularly at Panama, with a view of intercepting the plate-fleet, the queen gave him a commission as general of the fleet equipped for this purpose, consisting of thirteen ships and two men of war, which sailed in February, 1591-2. Sir

Walter had scarcely put to sea, when he was overtaken by letters from the queen, containing his recall. But conceiving his honour concerned in the enterprise, he interpreted the letters with latitude, and proceeded. He returned, however, without accomplishing the prime object of his voyage; and now incurred the queen's displeasure on account of an amour with Elizabeth, the beautiful daughter of sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and one of the maids of honour to the queen. Both parties were confined to the Tower for nearly a year; and the knight repaired his transgression by a successful offer of his hand.

In 1593-4, he obtained from her majesty the castle and manor of Sherborne. Here he matured the plan of his first voyage to Guiana—a voyage which is memorable in his history, as it was eventually the cause of his destruction. This expedition, of which he wrote a copious account, he attended in person; and probably returned to England late in the summer of 1595. In 1600, the government of Jersey was conferred upon him, with a grant of the manor and lordship of St. Germain, in the same island, and all the lands and tenements therein.

But the fortune of Ralegh fell with the death

of the queen. The dark insinuations of Cecil, his rival for power, succeeded in prejudicing king James against him; and his noblest actions—the fairest fruits of his patriotic genius, were blasted with the breath of malice. The king had not been three months in England, before he was charged with treason, with conspiring with lord Cobham and others to dethrone James, and to advance Arabella Stewart to the throne of England; to introduce the Roman superstition, &c. &c.

This conspiracy is a state-riddle, which has never been solved; that Ralegh had any share in it, there is not a shadow of proof. But his death was determined; and after a trial, perhaps the most disgraceful in our annals, he was condemned to lose his head. He was, however, reprieved by the king, who observed, in respect of lord Cobham's accusation of him, the only evidence, and which he subsequently recanted, that could Cobham have spoken any thing against Ralegh, they would have brought him from Constantinople to have accused him. His estates were taken from him, through a flaw said to be discovered in the conveyance, and transferred to the infamous minion Somerset: and himself was imprisoned in the Tower

during twelve years—a period, the best employed of his life, as in his captivity he composed the greater part of his numerous and valuable works. Prince Henry, between whom and Ralegh there subsisted an attachment of singular strength, was accustomed to say, "No king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage."

At the end of this time he was released, though not formally pardoned. In the hope of repairing his ruined fortunes, he now set sail for Guiana; but the enterprize, as is well known, failed, his son was killed, and on his return, himself executed, on the old sentence, at the instance of Spain. He was beheaded in 1618, and died with the same dauntless resolution he had displayed through life.

Sir Walter Ralegh is no less distinguished as a literary character, than as an experienced navigator and a valorous knight. His most extensive work is his History of the World, first published in 1614; but the best edition is the eleventh and last, edited by Oldys, in 1736, folio. The work begins with the creation, and collects the flowers of history to the end of the second Macedonian war. Having

surveyed the three first monarchies of the world, it leaves Rome, the fourth, triumphant, about a century and half before the birth of Christ, comprehending a period of nearly 4000 years. His biographer remarks—"ranking in that class of historians who prefer the exercise of judgment in selection to that of genius in adorning, his industry and penetration are highly conspicuous, and his style is the best model of his age. His superior manner of treating Greek and Roman story has justly excited regret, that he has devoted so many pages to Jewish and Rabbinical learning, and that he has not permitted himself a greater latitude, in those more fascinating subjects. If in this great work he has, to use the words of an eminent critic, *produced an historical dissertation, but seldom risen to the majesty of history*, still the variety of its learning and the elegance of its style, are sufficient to secure him a distinguished rank among the benefactors to our literature."

This work was composed during his imprisonment in the Tower; and furnishes an honourable proof of the resources he found in his own mind, while oppressed by the injustice of his countrymen. There is an anecdote

which seems to imply, that sir Walter continued this history to his own times. It is said, that a few days before his death, Ralegh sent for Walter Burre, the printer of his History, to ask him how the work had sold; who replied, "so slowly that it had undone him." Upon which, Ralegh taking a continuation of it from his desk, threw it into the fire, saying to Burre, "the second volume shall undo no more; this ungrateful world is unworthy of it." This anecdote, however, rests on insufficient authority; and is supposed by his biographer to refer to Ralegh's Breviary of the History of England, or some other unfinished work.

The following list of his miscellaneous works I give from Mr. Caley's late Life of him. "The collection of Dr. Birch, in two volumes, 8vo, 1751, in addition to the tracts relative to Guiana, and some smaller pieces, contains—

"1. Maxims of State, a Compendium of Government; first published under the title, The Prince. Lond. 4to, 1642.

"2. The Cabinet Council; containing the chief arts of empire and mysteries of state discabinetted, in political and polemical aphorisms, grounded on authority and experience, and illustrated with the choicest examples and

historical observations; first published by the celebrated Milton, in 8vo, 1658."

I shall select from this work the three following chapters, which contain some hints and observations not to be despised even by statesmen of modern times.

Chap. 11.

Observations intrinsically concerning every Public State in points of Justice, Treasure, and War.

The first concern matter intrinsic; the second touch matter extrinsic. Matters intrinsic are three: the administration of justice, the managing of the treasure, the disposing of things appertaining to war. Matters extrinsic are also three: the skill how to deal with neighbours, the diligence to vent their designs, the way how to win so much confidence with some of them, as to be made partaker of whatsoever they mean to enterprise.

Touching Administration of Justice.

The good and direct administration of justice is in all places a principal part of government: for seldom or never shall we see any people discontented and desirous of alteration, where justice is equally admi-

nistered without respect of persons; and in every state this consideration is required, but most of all in countries that do front upon other princes, or were lately conquered. Hereunto the prince's vigilancy, and the magistrate's uprightness, are especially required: for oftentimes the prince is deceived, and the magistrates corrupted. It behoveth also the prince to maintain the judges and ministers of justice in their reputation, and yet to have a vigilant eye upon their proceedings; and the rather if their authority do include equity, and from their censure be no appeal. And if their office be during life, and they are men born and dwelling in the same country, all these things are duly to be considered of the prince: for as to call the judges into question is as it were to disgrace the judicial seat; so, to wink at their corruptions, were matter of just discontent to the subject. In this case, therefore, the prince cannot do more than by his wisdom to make choice of good men; and being chosen, to hold them in good reputation, so as the ordinary course of justice may proceed: for otherwise, great disorder, contempt, and general confusion, will ensue thereof. Secondly, he is to keep his eye open upon their proceedings; and lastly, to reserve unto himself a supreme power of appellation.

Touching the Treasure.

The want of money is in all states very perilous, and most of all, in those which are of least strength, and do confine upon nations with whom they have commonly war, or unassured peace; but most perilous of all to those governments which are remote from the prince or place where they are to be relieved.

The means to levy treasure are four. First, the customs and impositions upon all sorts of merchandise and traffic, is to be looked unto, and advanced. Secondly, the excessive eating of usury must be suppressed. Thirdly, all superfluous charges and expences are to be taken away. Lastly, the doings and accounts of ministers are severally to be examined.

Touching the matter of custom and import, thereof, assuredly, a great profit is in every state to be raised, chiefly where peace hath long continued, and where the country affordeth much plenty of commodities to be carried out, and where ports are to receive shipping.

The moderating of interest is ever necessary, and chiefly in this age, by reason that money aboundeth in Europe, since the traffic into the Indies: for such men as have money in their hands great plenty, would in no wise employ the same in merchandise,

if lawful it were to receive the utmost usury, being a course of most profit and greatest security.

The taking away of superfluous expences is no other thing than a certain wise and laudable parsimony, which the Romans and other well-governed states did use. These expences consist in fees, allowances, and wages granted to ministers of little or no necessity: Also, in pensions, rewards, entertainments, and donaries, with small difficulty to be moderated, or easily to be suppressed.

By abridging or taking away of these needless expences, a marvellous profit will be saved for the prince*; but if he continue them, and by imposing upon the people, do think to increase his treasure or revenue, besides the loss of their love, he may also hazard their obedience, with many other inconveniences.

Touching War.

Whatsoever prince or commonweal is neighbour to any people which can, will, or were wont to offend, it is necessary to have not only all things prepared for defence of his person and country, but also to forecast and use every caution and other diligence: for the inconveniencies which happen to government are

* So Henry IV. of France, by putting his courtiers to board wages, was said to make money with his teeth.

sudden and unlooked for; yea, the providence and provision required in this case ought to be such, as the expences all other ways employed must stay to supply the necessity of war.

Chap. 12.

Extrinsic Observation, shewing how to deal with Neighbour Princes and Provinces respectively, how to prevent their Designs, and decypher their Intendments.

The first point of matter extrinsic, is of such quality, as being well handled, procureth great good, but otherwise becometh dangerous: for the proceeding must be diverse, according to the diversity of the ends which the prince or governor intendeth. For, if he desire to continue peace with his neighbours, one way is to be taken; but otherwise, he is to work that seeketh occasion to break, and to become an enemy to one or more of his neighbours. If he do desire to live peaceably with all, then he is to observe these rules: viz.—

First, to hold, to continue firmly all contracts and capitulations.

Secondly, to shew himself resolved neither to offer, nor take the least touch of wrong or injury.

Thirdly, with all care and favour, to further

commerce and reciproke traffic, for the profit of the subject, and increase of the prince's revenue.

Fourthly, Covertly to win so great confidence with neighbours, as in all actions of unkindness among them, he may be made umpire.

Fifthly, To become so well believed with them, as he may remove such diffidences as grow to his own disadvantage.

Sixthly, Not to deny protection or aid to them that are the weakest, and chiefly such as do and will endure his fortune.

Lastly, In favouring, aiding, and protecting (unless necessity shall otherwise so require) to do it moderately, so as those who are to be aided, become not jealous, and consequently seek adherency elsewhere, which oftentimes hath opened way to other neighbours that desire a like occasion.

How to prevent their Designs.

This point is, in time of war, with great diligence to be looked unto; also, in time of peace, to prevent all occasions that may kindle war is behoveful: for to foresee what may happen to the prejudice of a prince's profit or reputation, is a part of great wisdom. The means to attain the intelligence of these things are two.

The first is by friends; the next is by *espials*:

the one for the most part faithful; the other not so assured.

These matters are well to be considered: for albeit, the nature of man desireth nothing more than curiously to know the doings of others, yet are those things to be handled with so great secrecy and dissimulation, as the prince's intent be not in any wise suspected, nor the ministers made odious: for these sometimes to win themselves reputation, do devise causes of difference where no need is, divining of things future, which prove to the prejudice of their own prince.

To win Confidence with Neighbours.

This is chiefly attained unto by being loved and honoured: for these things do work so many good effects, as daily experience sufficeth, without any express example, to prove them of great force.

The ways to win love and trust, is in all actions to proceed justly, and sometimes to wink at wrongs, or set aside unnecessary revenges; and if any thing be done not justifiable, or unfit to be allowed, (as oftentimes it happeneth) there to lay the blame upon the minister; which must be performed with so great shew of revenge and dissimulation, by reproving and punishing the minister, as the princes offended may

be satisfied, and believe that the cause of unkindness proceeded from thence.

Now only it resteth, that somewhat should be said touching provision, to the end the people may not be drawn into despair by famine, or extreme dearth of victual, and chiefly for want of corn, which is one principal consideration to be regarded, according to the Italian proverb—*Pane in Piazza, Giustitia in Palazzo, siverezza per tutto:* whereunto, I could wish every prince or supreme governor to be thus qualified, viz. *Facile de audienza, non facile de credenzi, desioso de spedition, essemplare in costunii proprii, et inquei de sua casa tale chevorra governare, e non esser governato da altro; he della raggione.*

Chap. 13.

Observations confirmed by authorities of Princes and Principalities, characterizing an excellent Prince or Governor.

Every good and lawful principality is either elective or successive. Of them, election seemeth the more ancient; but succession, in divers respects the better: *minore discrimine sumitur princeps quam quæritur.* Tac.

The chief and only endeavour of every good prince

ought to be the commodity and security of the subjects; as contrariwise, the tyrant seeketh his own private profit with the oppression of his people. *Civium non servitus sed tutela tradita est.* Sal.

To the perfection of every good prince, two things are necessarily required; *viz.* prudence and virtue; the one to direct his doings, the other to govern his life. *Rex eris si recte feceris.* Hor.

The second care which appertaineth to a good prince, is to make his subjects like unto himself; for thereby, he is not only honoured, but they also the better governed. *Facile imperium in bonos.* Plaut.

Subjects are made good by two means; *viz.* by constraint of law, and the prince's example: for in all estates, the people do imitate those conditions whereunto they see the prince inclined. *Quicquid faciunt principes, præcipere videantur.* Quintil.

All virtues be required in a prince; but justice and clemency are most necessary: for justice is a habit of doing things justly as well to himself as others, and giving to every one so much as to him appertaineth. This is that virtue that preserveth concord among men, and whereof they be called good. *Jus et æquitas vincula civitatum.* Cic.

It is the quality of this virtue also to proceed equally and temperately. It informeth the prince not to surcharge the subjects with infinite laws: for

thereof proceedeth the impoverishment of the subjects and the enriching of lawyers *, a kind of men, which in ages more ancient, did seem of no necessity. *Sine causidicis satis felices olim fuere futuræque sunt urbes.* Sal.

The next virtue required in princes is clemency, being an inclination of the mind to lenity and compassion, yet tempered with severity and judgment. This quality is fit for all great personages, but chiefly princes; because their occasion to use it is most. By it also, the love of men is gained. *Qui vult regnare, languidâ regnet manu.* Sen.

After clemency, fidelity is expected in all good princes, which is a certain performance and observation of word and promise. This virtue seemeth to accompany justice, or is, as it were, the same; and therefore most fit for princes. *Sanctissimum generis humani bonum.* Liv.

As fidelity followeth justice, so doth modesty accompany clemency. Modesty is a temperature of reason, whereby the mind of man is so governed, as neither in action or opinion, he over-deemeth of himself, or any thing that is his—a quality not common in fortunate folk, and most rare in princes. *Superbia commune nobilitatis malum.* Sal.

* The author of the epistle dedicatory to the duchess of Suffolk, prefixed to Mr. Latimer's Sermons, saith, that lawyers' covetousness hath almost devoured England.

This virtue doth also moderate all external demonstrations of insolence, pride, and arrogance, and therefore necessary to be known of princes, and other, whom favour or fortune have advanced. *Impone fælicitati tuæ frænos, facilius illam reges.* Curt.

But as princes are to observe the bounds of modesty, so may they not forget the majesty appertaining to their supreme honour, being a certain reverend greatness due to princely virtue and royal state—a grace and gravity no less beseeming a prince, than virtue itself: for neither overmuch familiarity, nor too great austerity, ought to be used by princes. *Facilitas autoritatem, severitas amorem minuit.* Tac.

To these virtues we may apply liberality, which doth not only adorn, but highly advance the honour due to princes. Thereby also, the good will of men is gained: for nothing is more fitting a prince's nature, than bounty, the same being accompanied with judgment, and performed according to the laws of liberality. *Perdere multi sciunt donare nesciunt.* Tac.

It seemeth also that prudence is not only fit, but also, among other virtues, necessary in a prince: for the daily use thereof is in all human actions required; and chiefly in matters of state and government. *Prudentia imperantis propria et unica virtus.* Aris.

The success of all worldly proceedings doth shew that prudence hath compassed the prosperous event of human actions, more than force of arms or other power. *Mens una sapiens plurium vincit manus.* Eurip.

Prudence is either natural, or received from others: for whoso can counsel himself what is fit to be done, needeth not the advice of others; but they that want such perfection, and are nevertheless capable, and are willing to know what others inform, ought to be accounted wise enough. *Laudatissimus est qui cuncta videbit, sed laudandus est is qui paret recte monenti.* Hesiod.

" 3. The Prerogative of Parliaments in England, proved in a Dialogue between a Counsellor of State and a Justice of Peace; dedicated to King James, and first printed at Middleburg, 4to, 1628.

" 4. A Discourse, touching a Match propounded by the Savoyan, between the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince of Piedmont; written in 1611.

" 5. A Discourse, touching a Marriage between Prince Henry of England and a Daughter of Savoy; written in 1611.

"6. A Discourse, touching a War with Spain, and of the protecting of the Netherlands; addressed to James I. and first published, with two more discourses, by his grandson, Philip Ralegh, Esq. 8vo, 1702.

"7. A Discourse, of the original and fundamental Cause of natural, arbitrary, necessary, and unnatural War; first printed in his Essays, 8vo, 1650.

"8. A Discourse, of the Invention of Ships, Anchors, Compass, &c.; the first Natural War; the several Uses, Defects, and Supplies of Shipping; the Strength and Defects of the Sea Forces of England, France, Spain, and Venice; together with the five manifest Causes of the sudden appearing of the Hollanders; an unfinished piece, first printed in his Essays, as above.

"9. Observations concerning the Royal Navy and Sea-service. Dedicated to Prince Henry, and first printed in his Essays, as above.

"10. Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollander, and other Nations, presented to King James; wherein is proved that our sea and land commodities serve to enrich and strengthen other countries against our own; printed in 12mo, 1653.

" 11. An Introduction to a Breviary of the History of England, with the Reign of King William I. entitled the Conqueror; published in 8vo, 1693, by Dr. John Moore, (afterward bishop of Ely) from the MSS. of archbishop Sancroft, with a preface by Dr. Moore.

" 12. The Seat of Government, upheld by the two great Pillars thereof, *viz.* Civil Justice, and Martial Policy, which are framed out of Husbandry, Merchandize, and Gentry of this Kingdom; a fragment, first printed in his Remains, 12mo, 1651.

" 13. Observations concerning the Causes of the Magnificency and Opulency of Cities; a fragment, also printed in his Remains.

" 14. The Sceptic; founded on the doctrine of Pyrrho, and printed in his Remains, as above.

" It seems highly probable that many of sir Walter's writings are yet unpublished. David Lloyd, in his State Worthies, informs us, that Mr. Hamden, *a little before the wars, was at the charge of transcribing 3,452 sheets of Ralegh's MSS. as the amanuensis himself told him; who had his close chamber, his fire and candle, with an attendant to deliver him the originals, and take his copies as fast as he could*

write them. I need not add, that the extant writings of sir Walter, at that time unpublished, with which we are acquainted, appear to bear a small proportion to this quantity.

" The following is a list of the pieces known and ascribed to the knight, yet omitted by Dr. Birch, of which I have been able to collect the titles.

" A Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azores, already noticed in chap. iii. of this work.

" A Relation of Cadiz Action, in the year 1596, printed at length in chap. v. of this work.

" A Discourse of Tenures which were before the Conquest, namely, knight service, soccage, and frankalmoign; and the effect of those tenures, wards, reliefs, heriots escuage, or warfaring by tenure, reservations of rent or victuals, and provisions or purveyors in the Saxon times; that the same estates in the soil of this land were due unto the subjects by birthright of their ancestors, the inhabitants of the land, before duke William's time, namely, to have land in fee simple, freeholders, copyholders, customary tenants, and villains, before the year 1066; together with the

resemblances or disresemblances of those, in outlandish, ancient or modern, estates; printed in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, from Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian library.

"A Discourse, how War may be made against Spain and the Indies; referred to in the Discourse touching a War with Spain, but not known either in print or MS.

"Memorial touching the Port Dover, already noticed in chap. v. of this work.

"Treatise of the West Indies, referred to in the dedication to the first Guiana Voyage, (see chap iv.) but not known either in print or MS.

"Considerations of a Voyage to Guiana, MS. in the British Museum. (See Ayscough's Catalogue, p. 692, No. 1133.)

"Journal of Second Voyage to Guiana; MS. in the Cotton library (Titus, B. viii), being notes from which the Apology was written.

"The Present State of Spain, with a most accurate account of his Catholic Majesty's Power and Riches; also the names and worth of the most considerable persons in that kingdom; MS. noticed by Anthony Wood, and in Shirley's Life of Ralegh.

"The Present State of Things, as they now

stand between the three Kingdoms, France, England, and Spain; MS. in the Harleian library. (xxxviii. B. 3.)

"A Dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant, shewing how dangerous are their Principles to Christian Princes; No. iii. of Genuine Remains of Sir Walter Ralegh, subjoined to an abridgment of his History of the World, by Philip Ralegh, Esq. only grandson to sir Walter, 8vo, 1700.

"A Discourse of the words Law and Right; MS. in the Ashmolean library.

"A Treatise of the Soul; MS. in the same library.

"A Treatise of Mines, and the Trials of Minerals; MS. noticed by Anthony Wood.

"A Collection of Chemical and Medicinal Receipts; MS. in the British Museum. (See Ayscough's Catalogue, p. 492, No. 359.)

"A Discourse of the Spaniards' Cruelties to the English in Havanna; MS. formerly in the collection of Henry, earl of Clarendon.

"A Treatise of the Art of War by Sea; referred to, as unfinished, in the History of the World, (Lib. v. chap. 1, sect. 6,) but not known either in print or MS.

"A Discourse of a Maritimal Voyage, and the passages and incidents therein, addressed to Prince Henry, referred to in the Observations concerning the Royal Navy and Sea Service, but not known either in print or MS.

"Certain publications not entitled to a place in the above list, yet to which sir Walter's name hath been appended, are noticed here. Such are—

"A Notable and Memorable Story of the cruel war between the Carthagenians and their own Mercenaries, 4to, 1647; a republication of the History of the World. Lib. v. chap. 2, &c.

"War with Foreign Princes Dangerous, 8vo, 165—, by sir Robert Cotton; to which a head of sir Walter was at first improperly prefixed.

"The Dutiful Advice of a Loving Son to his aged Father; printed in Ralegh's Remains, as written by him, but more probably a libel upon him by one of his enemies. (See Birch's Works of Ralegh, Prolegomena, p. 105.)

"The Life and Death of Mahomet, the

Conquest of Spain, together with the Rising and Ruin of the Saracen Empire, 12mo, 1637; an abstract, or translation of an abstract made in Spanish, of Part I, Book i, and Part II, Book i, of Miguel de Luna's History of the Loss of Spain, pretended to be translated from the Arabic of Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique."

Such were the literary labours of this wonderful man. For extent of knowledge and variety of talent, he was undoubtedly the first man of his age. His writings are full of thought, as will readily be believed from the specimens I have inserted. But I am afraid, that he was too obviously conscious of his superiority, and hence fell a victim to that hate which envy inspired.

LILLY.

JOHN LILLY was born in the Weald of Kent, about the year 1553. At the age of 16, he entered at Magdalene College, Oxford, and in 1573, and 1575, took his degrees in arts. In the university, he distinguished himself as a wit and a poet, rather than by his attention to the more grave and academical studies of logic and philosophy.

Having, as he informs us, received some ill treatment from Oxford, he afterwards removed to Cambridge.

In 1579, we find him at court, and a favourite with the great, through whose interest he was recommended to queen Elizabeth, who honoured the performance of several of his *Comedies* with her presence. Scarcely any

other particulars of his life are known; except that, he himself intimates he was ten years a public reader in one of the universities, which, from the silence of Wood, the Oxford antiquary, we may infer was Cambridge. We are not informed even of the time of his death; and Wood only expresses his belief that he was alive when his last comedy was published, which was in 1597.

The only known prose composition extant of Lilly, is a work divided into two parts, of which the first is entitled, "Euphues," the second, "Euphues and his England." The designed tendency of the book is moral; and treats of the duties and likewise of the errors of the parent, the child, the student, the traveller, the philosopher, the divine, the courtier, and the contemplative or retired man. He is very severe too against the follies and faults of the ladies; and satyrises with keenness the libertine manners of the universities. He chooses, as the vehicle of his satyr and of his moral instructions, a fictitious story. Euphues is a young Athenian of birth and fortune, distinguished for the beauty of his person, for his wit, his amorous temperament, and roving disposition. While on his travels at

Naples, he becomes the rival of his friend Philautus, in the love of Lucilla, a coquet, who, after draining his purse, forsakes him. Thus jilted, he is transported with indignation, inveighs bitterly against all women, and resolves to renounce entirely their society, for the calmer pleasures of retirement and study.

Under the influence of these feelings, he writes a long letter, or rather a pamphlet, to his friend, Philautus, which he leaves in his study, and entitles, "A Cooling Card for Philautus, and all Fond Lovers."

Philautus, if there be any man in despair to obtain his purpose; or so obstinate in his opinion, that having lost his freedom by folly, would also lose his life for love, let him repair hither, and he shall reap such profit, as will either quench his flames, or assuage his fury; either cause him to renounce his lady as most pernicious, or redeem his liberty as most precious. Come therefore to me all ye lovers, that have been deceived by fancy, the glass of pestilence, or deluded by women, the gate to perdition; be as earnest to seek a medicine, as you were eager to run into a mischief. * * *

If thou perceive thyself to be enticed with their

wanton glances, or allured with their wicked guiles, either enchanted with their beauty or enamoured with their bravery, enter with thyself into this meditation.

What shall I gain if I obtain my purpose? Nay, rather, what shall I lose in winning my pleasure? If my lady yield to be my lover, is it not likely she will be another's lemman? and if she be a modest matron, my labour is lost. This therefore remaineth, that either I must pine in cares or perish with curses.

If she be chaste, then is she coy; if light, then is she impudent: if a grave matron, who can woo her? if a lewd minion, who would wed her? if one of the vestal virgins, they have vowed virginity; if one of Venus's court, they have vowed dishonesty. If I love one that is fair, it will kindle jealousy; if one that is foul, it will convert me into phrenzy. If fertile to bear children, my care is increased; if barren, my curse is augmented. If honest, I shall fear her death; if immodest, I shall be weary of her life.

To what end then shall I live in love, seeing always it is a life more to be feared than death: for all my time wasted in sighs, and worn in sobs, for all my treasure spent on jewels, and spilt in jollity what recompence shall I reap besides repentance? What other reward shall I have than reproach

What other solace than endless shame? But haply thou wilt say, If I refuse their courtesy, I shall be accounted a meacock, a milk-sop, taunted and retaunted with check and check-mate, flouted and reflouted with intolerable glee.

Alas, fond fool! art thou so pinned to their sleeves that thou regardest more their babble, than thine own bliss, more their frumps than thine own welfare? Wilt thou resemble the kind spaniel, which the more he is beaten the fonder he is; or the foolish *ejesse*, which will never away? Dost thou not know, that women deem none valiant, unless he be too venturous; that they account one a dastard if he be not desperate; a pinch-penny if he be not prodigal; if silent a sot; if full of words a fool? Perversely do they always think of their lovers, and talk of them scornfully, judging all to be clowns which be no courtiers, and all to be pinglers that be not coursers.

Seeing therefore the very blossom of love is sour, the bud cannot be sweet: in time prevent danger, least untimely thou run into a thousand perils. * *

Do you not know the nature of women, which is grounded only upon extremities? Do they think any man to delight in them unless he doat on them? Any to be zealous unless he be jealous? Any to be fervent in case he be not furious? If he be cleanly, then term they him proud; if mean in apparel, a sloven;

if tall, a lungis; if short, a dwarf; if bold, blunt; if shamefaced, a coward; insomuch as they have neither mean in their frumps, nor measure in their folly. But at the first the ox wieldeth not the yoke, nor the colt the snaffle, nor the lover good counsel; yet time causeth the one to bend his neck, the other to ope his mouth, and should enforce the third to yield his sight to reason. Lay before thine eyes, the slights and deceits of thy lady, her snatching in jest and keeping in earnest, her perjury, her impiety, the countenance she sheweth to thee of course, the love she beareth to others of zeal, her open malice, her dissembled mischief.

O! I would in repeating their vices thou couldst be as eloquent, as in remembering them thou oughtest to be penitent; be she never so comely, call her counterfeit; be she never so straight, think her crooked. And wrest all parts of her body to the worst, be she never so worthy. If she be well set, then call her a boss; if slender, a hazel twig; if nut-brown, as black as a coal; if well coloured, a painted wall; if she be pleasant, then is she a wanton; if sullen, a clown; if honest, then is she coy; if impudent, a harlot.

Search every vein and sinew of their disposition; if she have no sight in descant, desire her to chaunt it; if no cunning to dance, request her to trip it; if no skill in music, proffer her the lute; if an ill gait,

then walk with her; if rude in speech, talk with her; if she be gag-toothed, tell her some merry jest, to make her laugh; if pink-eyed, some doleful history to cause her to weep: in the one her grinning will shew her deformed, in the other, her whining like a pig half roasted.

It is a world to see how commonly we are blinded with the collusions of women, and more enticed by their ornaments being artificial, then their proportion being natural. I loath almost to think on their ointments and apothecary drugs, the sleeking of their faces, and all their slibber sauces, which bring queasiness to the stomach, and disquiet to the mind.

Take from them their perriwigs, their paintings, their jewels, their rolls, their bolsterings, and thou shalt soon perceive that a woman is the least part of herself. When they be once robbed of their robes, then will they appear so odious, so ugly, so monstrous, that thou wilt rather think them serpents than saints, and so like hags, that thou wilt fear rather to be enchanted than enamoured. Look in their closets, and there shalt thou find an apothecary's shop of sweet confections, a surgeon's box of sundry salves, a pedlar's pack of new fangles. Besides all this, their shadows, their spots, their lawns, their leefekies, their ruffs, their rings: shew them rather cardinals' courtesans than modest ma-

trons, and more carnally affected than moved in conscience. If every one of these things severally be not of force to move thee, yet all of them jointly should mortify thee.

Moreover, to make thee the more stronger to strive against these syrens, and more subtle to deceive these tame serpents, my counsel is, that thou have more strings to thy bow than one; it is safe riding at two anchors; a fire divided in twain burneth slower; a fountain running into many rivers, is of less force; the mind enamoured on two women is less affected with desire, and less infected with despair; one love expelleth another, and the remembrance of the latter quencheth the concupiscence of the first.

Yet if thou be so weak, being bewitched with their wiles, that thou hast neither will to eschew, nor wit to avoid their company, if thou be either so wicked that thou wilt not, or so wedded that thou canst not abstain from their glances, yet at the least dissemble thy grief. If thou be as hot as the mount Etna, fain thyself as cold as the hill Caucasus; carry two faces in one hood; cover thy flaming fancy with feigned ashes; shew thyself sound when thou art rotten; let thy view be merry, when thy heart is melancholy; bear a pleasant countenance, with a pined conscience; a painted sheath with a leaden dagger: Thus dissembling thy grief, thou mayst re-

cure thy disease. Love creepeth in by stealth, and by stealth slideth away.

If she break promise with thee in the night, or absent herself in the day, seem thou careless, and then will she be careful; if thou languish, then will she be lavish of her honour, yea, and of the other strange beast, her honesty. Stand thou on thy pantoffles, and she will vail bonnet; lie thou aloof, and she will seize on the lure; if thou pass by her door, and be called back, either seem deaf or not to hear, or desperate, and not to care. Fly the places, the parlours, the portals, wherein thou hast been conversant with thy lady; yea, Philautus, shun the street where Lucilla doth dwell; least the sight of her window renew the sum of thy sorrow.

Still his mind is not quite at ease. He begins to suspect, that the censure due to a few, cannot with justice be extended to the whole sex. He feels a returning fondness for the ladies, and is desirous of making some apology for the rashness of his invective.

And yet, Philautus, I would not that all women should take pepper in the nose, in that I have dis-

closed the legerdemains of a few: for well I know, none will winch except she be galled, neither any be offended unless she be guilty. Therefore, I earnestly desire thee, that thou shew this cooling card unto *none*, except thou shew also this my defence unto them *all*. For although I weigh nothing the ill-will of light house-wives, yet would I be loth to lose the good-will of honest matrons. Thus being ready to go to Athens, and ready there to entertain thee, whensoever thou shalt repair thither, I bid thee farewell, and fly women.

His conscience is not yet perfectly satisfied: for he further deprecates the ill-will of the fair, in a direct address to the grave maidens and honest matrons of Italy.

In the second part of this Romance, (which, by the bye, is placed first in the edition of 1581, the one I have consulted,) Euphues, in company with his friend, makes a voyage to England; and forgetting their ill-success in Italy, they both become deeply enamoured of the English beauties. Philautus is again em-

barrassed and fretted with a rivalship, (though not of his friend,) preaches against the folly of love in his turn, and upbraids Euphues for having abandoned his laudable resolution to desert the fair for ever. Euphues, exhilarated by the sun-beams of beauty, calling one day upon his friend, who had retired that he might indulge in a doleful soliloquy on the hardship of his case, finds him in solitude and despondency, and thus rallies him:

What, Philautus, dost thou shun the court to sleep in a corner, as one either cloyed with delight, or having surfeited with desire? believe me, Philautus, if the wind be in that door, or thou so devout, to fall from beauty to thy beads, and to forsake the court to live in a cloister, I cannot tell whether I should more wonder at thy fortune, or praise thy wisdom: but I fear me, if I live to see thee so holy, I shall be an old man before I die; or if thou die not before thou be so pure, thou shalt be more marvelled at for thy years, than esteemed for thy virtues. In sooth, my good friend, if I should tarry a year in England, I could not abide an hour in my chambers: for I know not how it cometh to pass, that in earth I think no other paradise, such variety of delights to allure a courtly eye, such rare purity to draw a

well disposed mind, that I know not whether they be in England more amorous or virtuous; whether I should think my time best bestowed in viewing goodly ladies, or hearing godly lessons.

I had thought no woman to excel Livia in the world; but now I see that in England they be all as good, none worse, many better; insomuch that I am enforced to think, that it is as rare to see a beautiful woman in England without virtue, as to see a fair woman in Italy without pride: courteous they are without coins, but not without a care; amiable without pride, but not without courtliness; merry without curiosity, but not without measure; so that comparing the ladies of Greece with the ladies of Italy, I find the best but indifferent; and comparing both countries with the ladies of England, I account them all stark nought.

And truly, Philautus, thou shalt not shrive me like a ghostly father, for to thee I will confess in two things my extreme folly; the one in loving Lucilla, who in comparison of these had no spark of beauty, the other for making a cooling card against women, when I see these to have so much virtue: so that in the first I must acknowledge my judgment raw to discern shadows, and rash in the latter to give so peremptory sentence: in both I think myself to have erred so much that I recant both, being ready to take any penance thou shalt enjoin me,

whether it be a faggot for heresy, or a fine for hypocrisy. An heretic I was by mine invective against women, and no less than an hypocrite for dissembling with thee: for now, Philautus, I am of that mind that women,——but Philautus taking hold of this discourse, interrupted him with a sudden reply, as followeth.

Stay, Euphues, I can level at the thoughts of thy heart by the words of thy mouth; for that commonly the tongue uttereth the mind, and the outward speech bewrayeth the inward spirit. For as a good root is known by a fair blossom, so is the substance of the heart noted by the shew of the countenance. I can see day at a little hole: thou must halt cunningly if thou beguile a cripple; but I cannot choose but laugh to see thee play with the bait, that I fear thou hast swallowed, thinking with a mist to make my sight blind, because I should not perceive thy eyes bleared; but in faith, Euphues, I am now as well acquainted with thy conditions as with thy person, and use hath made me so expert in thy dealings, that well thou mayest juggle with the world, but thou shalt never deceive me.

A burnt child dreadeth the fire; he that stumbleth twice at one stone is worthy to break his shins: thou mayst happily forswear thyself, but thou shalt never delude me; I know thee now as readily by thy visard as thy visage: it is a blind goose that know-

eth not a fox from a fern-bush, and a foolish fellow that cannot discern craft from conscience, being once cozened. But why should I lament thy follies with grief, when thou seemest to colour them with deceit? Ah, Euphues, I love thee well, but thou hatest thyself, and seekest to heap more harms on thy head by a little wit, than thou shalt ever claw off by thy great wisdom. All fire is not quenched by water; thou hast not love in a string; affection is not thy slave; thou canst not leave when thou listest. With what face, Euphues, canst thou return to thy vomit, seeming with the greedy hound to lap up that which thou didst cast up? I am ashamed to rehearse the terms that once thou didst utter of malice against women, and art thou not ashamed now again to recant them? They must needs think thee either envious upon small occasion, or amorous upon a light cause; and then will they all be as ready to hate thee for thy spite, as to laugh at thee for thy looseness.

No, Euphues, so deep a wound cannot be healed with so light a plaster; thou mayst by art recover the skin, but thou canst never cover the scar; thou mayst flatter with fools because thou art wise, but the wise will ever mark thee for a fool. Then sure I cannot see what thou gainest, if the simple condemn thee of flattery and the grave of folly. Is thy cooling card of this property, to quench fire in others, and to kindle flames in thee? or is it a

whet-stone to make thee sharp, and us blunt; or a sword to cut wounds in me, and cure them in Euphues? Why didst thou write that against them thou never thoughtest, or if thou didst it, why dost thou not follow it? But it is lawful for the physician to surfeit, for the shepherd to wander, for Euphues to prescribe what he will, and do what he list.

The sick patient must keep a straight diet, the silly sheep a narrow fold; poor Philautus must believe Euphues and all lovers (he only excepted) are cooled with a card of *teen*, or rather fooled with a vain toy. Is this thy professed purity, to cry peccavi? thinking it as great sin to be honest, as shame not to be amorous: thou that didst blaspheme the noble sex of women without cause, dost thou now commit idolatry with them without care, observing as little gravity then in thine unbridled fury, as thou dost now reason by thy disordinate fancy? I see now that there is nothing more smooth than glass, yet nothing more brittle: nothing more fair than snow, yet nothing less firm: nothing more fine than wit, yet nothing more fickle. * * *

Thou art in love, Euphues, contrary to thine oath, thine honour, thine honesty; neither would any professing that thou doest live as thou doest, which is no less grief to me, than shame to thee; excuse thou mayst make to me, because I am credulous; but amends to the world thou canst not frame, because

thou art come out of Greece, to blaze thy vice in England, a place too honest for thee, and thou too dishonest for any place.

Lilly appears to have been an author much in fashion in his day. Edward Blount, the editor of six of his Comedies, speaks of those plays as "written by the only rare poet of that time, the witty, comical, facetiously-quick, and unparalleled John Lilly, master of arts." In his epistle also to the reader, after observing that the poet, "was heard, graced, and rewarded by queen Elizabeth," he says, that those plays were published "to prevent oblivion from trampling upon such a son of the Muses, as they called their darling." And then proceeds to assert that the nation was indebted to our author for a new English, which he taught them in his *Euphues;* that all the ladies of that time were his scholars; she who spoke not *Euphueism* being as little regarded at court, as if she could not speak French. It is remarkable, that this assertion is confirmed in Ben Jonson's "Every Man out of his Humour;" in which, Fallace,

wife of Deliro, a proud mincing lady, dotes upon Fastidius Brisk, a spruce affected courtier. The gallant being thrown into the counter, is there visited by Fallace; who concludes the expressions of her fondness in these words: "O master Brisk (as it is in *Euphues*) *hard is the choice when one is compelled, either by silence to die with grief, or by speaking, to live with shame.*" Upon this passage, we have the following note by Mr. Whalley. "*Euphues* is the title of a Romance, wrote by one Lilly, that was in the highest vogue at this time. The court ladies had all the phrases by heart. The language is extremely affected, and like the specimen here quoted, consists chiefly of antitheses in the thought and expression."

CECIL (WILLIAM),

BARON of Burghley, Burleigh, or Burly, was born at Bourn in Lincolnshire, in 1520. After being initiated in grammar learning at the grammar schools of Grantham and Stamford, he was removed, in 1535, to St. John's College, Cambridge; and in 1541, entered at Gray's Inn as student of the law. There he distinguished himself by his application; the fruit of which was an intimate acquaintance with the constitution of his country.

On his introduction at court, his first promotion was to the office of *Custos Brevium*, in the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. In 1547, he was appointed master of requests; and the year after, obtained the post of secretary, which he enjoyed twice in Edward's reign. He was knighted and sworn of the privy council in 1551. In the reign of Mary he lost his

office, for refusing to change his religion; but on the accession of Elizabeth, was again sworn privy counsellor and secretary of state, which offices he retained till his death.

He obtained also in 1561 the office of master of the wards. In 1571 the queen created him baron of Burleigh; the year following, knight of the garter; and about three months after, raised him to the office of lord high treasurer. He had the additional honour of being chancellor of the university of Cambridge. He died in 1598, at the age of 77.

Lord Burleigh, as Mr. Walpole has observed, "is one of those great names, better known in the annals of his country, than those in the republic of letters."

His works consist chiefly of letters and state papers.

1. When (as sir William Cecil) he accompanied the duke of Somerset on his expedition into Scotland, he kept a "Diary," which was afterwards published by William Patten, under the title of "*Diarium Expeditionis Scoticæ*, Lond. 1541, 12 mo." and which furnished materials for an account of that war. This is probably the reason why he is classed by Holinshed among the English historians.

2. "The first Paper or Memorial of Sir W. Cecil, *anno primo* Eliz." This is merely a paper of memorandums, and has been printed in Somers's Tracts.

3. "A Speech in Parliament, 1592;" first published by Strype in his Annals, and since inserted in the parliamentary history, vol. 4, p. 356—363.

4. "Lord Burleigh's Precepts or Directions for the well ordering and carriage of a Man's Life," 1637.

These Precepts were addressed to his son Robert Cecil; and furnish perhaps the most curious specimen that could be selected of his manner as a writer, of his personal character, and in some sort of the character of the age in which he lived. The extract is taken from Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. 1. p. 47—49; edit. 1779.

Son Robert,

The virtuous inclinations of thy matchless mother, by whose tender and godly care thy infancy was governed; together with thy education under so zealous and excellent a tutor; puts me in rather assurance than hope, that thou art not ignorant of that *summum bonum*, which is only able to make thee

happy as well in thy death as life; I mean, the true knowledge and worship of thy Creator and Redeemer: without which all other things are vain and miserable. So that thy youth being guided by so sufficient a teacher, I make no doubt but he will furnish thy life with divine and moral documents. Yet, that I may not cast off the care of beseeming a parent towards his child; or that thou shouldst have cause to derive thy whole felicity and welfare rather from others than from whence thou receivedst thy breath and being; I think it fit and agreeable to the affection I bear thee, to help thee with such rules and advertisements for the squaring of thy life, as are rather gained by experience than by much reading. To the end, that entering into this exorbitant age, thou mayest be the better prepared to shun those scandalous courses whereunto the world, and the lack of experience, may easily draw thee. And, because I will not confound thy memory, I have reduced them into ten precepts; and next unto Moses' tables, if thou imprint them in thy mind, thou shalt reap the benefit, and I the content. And they are these following:

1. When it shall please God to bring thee to man's estate, use great providence and circumspection in chusing thy wife. For from thence will spring all thy future good or evil. And it is an action of life, like unto a stratagem of war; wherein

a man can err but once. If thy estate be good, match near home and at leisure; if weak, far off and quickly. Enquire diligently of her disposition, and how her parents have been inclined in their youth. Let her not be poor, how generous soever. For a man can buy nothing in the market with gentility. Nor chuse a base and uncomely creature altogether for wealth; for it will cause contempt in others, and loathing in thee. Neither make choice of a dwarf, or a fool; for, by the one thou shalt beget a race of pigmies; the other will be thy continual disgrace, and it will *yirke* thee to hear her talk. For thou shalt find it, to thy great grief, that there is nothing more fulsome than a she-fool.

And touching the guiding of thy house, let thy hospitality be moderate; and, according to the means of thy estate, rather plentiful than sparing, but not costly. For I never knew any man grow poor by keeping an orderly table. But some consume themselves through secret vices, and their hospitality bears the blame. But banish swinish drunkards out of thine house, which is a vice impairing health, consuming much, and makes no shew. I never heard praise ascribed to the drunkard, but for the well-bearing of his drink; which is a better commendation for a brewer's horse or a dray-man, than for either a gentleman or a serving-man. Beware thou spend not above three of four parts of thy re-

venues; nor above a third part of that in thy house. For the other two parts will do no more than defray thy extraordinaries, which always surmount the ordinary by much: otherwise thou shalt live like a rich beggar, in continual want. And the needy man can never live happily nor contentedly. For every disaster makes him ready to mortgage or sell. And that gentleman, who sells an acre of land, sells an ounce of credit. For gentility is nothing else but ancient riches. So that if the foundation shall at any time sink, the building must need follow—So much for the first precept.

2. Bring thy children up in learning and obedience, yet without outward austerity. Praise them openly, reprehend them secretly. Give them good countenance and convenient maintenance according to thy ability; otherwise thy life will seem their bondage, and what portion thou shalt leave them at thy death, they will thank death for it, and not thee. And I am persuaded that the foolish cockering of some parents, and the over-stern carriage of others, causeth more men and women to take ill courses, than their own vicious inclinations. Marry thy daughters in time, lest they marry themselves. And suffer not thy sons to pass the Alps. For they shall learn nothing there, but pride, blasphemy, and atheism. And if by travel they get a few broken languages, that shall profit them nothing more than

to have one meat served in divers dishes. Neither by my consent, shalt thou train them up in wars. For he that sets up his rest to live by that profession, can hardly be an honest man or a good christian. Besides, it is a science no longer in request than use. For soldiers in peace, are like chimneys in summer.

3. Live not in the country without corn and cattle about thee. For he that putteth his hand to the purse for every expence of household, is like him that keepeth water in a sieve; and, what provision thou shalt want, learn to buy it at the best hand. For there is one penny saved in four, betwixt buying in thy need, and when the markets and seasons serve fittest for it. Be not served with kinsmen or friends, or men intreated to stay; for they expect much and do little: nor with such as are amorous, for their heads are intoxicated. And keep rather two too few, than one too many. Feed them well, and pay them with the most; and then thou mayest boldly require service at their hands.

4. Let thy kindred and allies be welcome to thy house and table. Grace them with thy countenance, and farther them in all honest actions: for by this means thou shalt so double the band of nature, as thou shalt find them so many advocates to plead an apology for thee behind thy back. But shake off those glow-worms, I mean, parasites and sycophants,

who will feed and fawn upon thee in the summer of prosperity, but, in an adverse storm, they will shelter thee no more than an arbour in winter.

5. Beware of suretyship for thy best friends. He that payeth another man's debts, seeketh his own decay. But, if thou canst not otherwise chuse, rather lend thy money thyself upon good bonds, although thou borrow it. So shalt thou secure thyself and pleasure thy friend. Neither borrow money of a neighbour, or a friend, but of a stranger, where paying for it, thou shalt hear no more of it. Otherwise thou shalt eclipse thy credit, lose thy freedom, and yet pay as dear as to another. But in borrowing of money, be precious of thy word: for he that hath care of keeping days of payment is lord of another man's purse.

6. Undertake no suit against a poor man without receiving much wrong: for besides that thou makest him thy compeer; it is a base conquest to triumph where there is small resistance. Neither attempt law against any man before thou be fully resolved that thou hast right on thy side; and then spare not for either money or pains: for a cause or two so followed, and obtained, will free thee from suits a great part of thy life.

7. Be sure to keep some great man thy friend, but trouble him not for trifles. Compliment him often with many yet small gifts, and of little

charge. And if thou hast cause to bestow any great gratuity, let it be something which may be daily in sight; otherwise, in this ambitious age, thou shalt remain like a hop without a pole, live in obscurity, and be made a foot-ball for every insulting companion to spurn at.

8. Towards thy superiors, be humble, yet generous. With thine equals, familiar, yet respective. Towards thy inferiors shew much humanity, and some familiarity: as to bow the body; stretch forth the hand; and to uncover the head; with such like popular compliments. The first prepares thy way to advancement. The second makes thee known for a man well bred. The third gains a good report; which, once got, is easily kept. For right humanity takes such deep root in the minds of the multitude, as they are easilier gained by unprofitable curtesies than by churlish benefits. Yet I advise thee not to affect, or neglect, popularity too much. Seek not to be Essex, shun to be Ralegh.

9. Trust not any man with thy life, credit, or estate: for it is mere folly for a man to enthral himself to his friend, as though, occasion being offered, he should not dare to become the enemy.

10. Be not scurrilous in conversation, nor satyrical in thy jests. The one will make thee unwelcome to all company; the other pull on quarrels, and get thee hatred of thy best friends. For sus-

picious jests (when any of them savour of truth) leave a bitterness in the minds of those which are touched. And, albeit, I have already pointed at this inclusively; yet I think it necessary to leave it to thee as a special caution. Because I have seen many so prone to quip and gird, as they would rather *leese* their friend than their jest. And if perchance their boiling brain yield a quaint scoff, they will travail to be delivered of it as a woman with child. These nimble fancies are but the froth of wit.

His remaining works are,

5. "A Meditation on the Death of his Lady;" printed by Mr. Ballard, in his Memoirs of British Ladies.

6. He was also supposed to be the author of a pamphlet, in defence of the punishments inflicted on the Roman Catholics, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, intitled, "The Execution of Justice in England for maintenance of Public and Christian Peace against certain Stirrers of Sedition, and Adherents to the Traitors and Enemies of the Realm, without any Persecution of them for Questions of Religion, as is falsely reported," &c. London, 1583. Second edition.

7. Other political pieces have been also attributed to him, particularly the celebrated libel, intitled, "Leicester's Commonwealth." But there is no proof that the reference of this last piece to him is correct.

8. A great number of lord Burleigh's Letters are still extant in various places. Thirty-three are printed in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*; three in Howard's Collections; and many others in Forbes's, Haynes's, and Murdin's State Papers. Haynes's Collection, published in 1740, extends from the year 1542 to 1570; Murdin's, which appeared in 1759, from 1571 to 1596; both of which collections throw great light on the transactions of the period to which they relate. Particularly, the whole course of the proceedings relative to Mary queen of Scots are fully laid open. Dr. Birch, in his Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, has also given extracts from several letters of lord Burleigh, which are among the original papers of Mr. Anthony Bacon. In the *Nugæ Antiquæ* is likewise a Letter of Advice, written by his lordship, in 1578, to Mr. Harrington (afterwards sir John Harrington) then a student at the university of Cambridge. In the earl of Hardwicke's Miscella-

neous State-Papers, besides a number of letters addressed to Cecil, there are seven of his own writing. Moreover, his unpublished papers are still numerous; and are to be found in the British Museum, in the libraries of the earls of Salisbury, Hardwicke, and of the marquis of Landsdown.

The character given of this eminent statesman by Hume seems to be unexceptionable, and is warranted by the preceding extract. "Lord Burleigh, (says he,) died in an advanced age; and by a rare fortune, was equally regretted by his sovereign and the people. He had risen gradually from small beginnings, by the mere force of merit; and though his authority was never entirely absolute, or uncontroled with the queen, he was still, during the course of nearly forty years, regarded as her minister. None of her other inclinations or affections could ever overcome her confidence in so useful a counsellor; and as he had had the generosity or good sense to pay assiduous court to her, during her sister's reign, when it was dangerous to appear her friend, she thought herself bound in gratitude, when she mounted the throne, to persevere in her attachments to him. He seems not to have

possessed any shining talents of address, eloquence, or imagination; and was chiefly distinguished by solidity of understanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application to business: virtues, which if they do not always enable a man to rise to high stations, do certainly qualify him best for filling them. Of all the queen's ministers he was the only one who left a considerable fortune to his posterity; a fortune not acquired by rapine or oppression, but gained by the regular profits of his offices, and preserved by frugality."

STOW.

JOHN STOW, historian and antiquarian, son of Thomas Stow, of St. Michael's, Cornhill, London, was born about the year 1525. At the out-set in life, he was a taylor, the profession of his father. He early manifested great curiosity relative to history, and particularly the history of England, the study of which he prosecuted to the almost total neglect of his business.

About the year 1560, he conceived the design of composing his "Annals;" and that he might proceed with the less interruption, he abandoned his trade, and employed himself entirely in the collection of materials. For this purpose, he perused all the writers, whether printed or MS. from whom any thing could be gleaned; and searched into records,

charters, and other original instruments; travelling on foot to the cathedral churches, and other antiquarian repositaries, and not only read, but eagerly bought up whatever was to be had of histories, chronicles, &c. some of which he found written on paper, and others on parchment. In this manner, by the year 1568, he had amassed a great stock of books and manuscripts; and the value of his library was enhanced, by its possessing, not merely ancient authors, but original charters, registers, and chronicles of particular places. The books he was unable to purchase, or otherwise procure, he took the trouble to transcribe. Six volumes of collections which he had thus copied, he transferred to Camden, who in consideration of the favour, allowed him eight pounds a year for life.

Living at the period of the dispersion of libraries, consequent upon the abolition of the monasteries, Stow had doubtless great facilities for making his collection, and it appears, that he availed himself of them to the utmost. The purchase of MSS. however, was so expensive, and the emolument he derived from it comparitively so inconsiderable, that he was once on the point of abandoning his favorite

pursuit, and of returning to his former trade, when he fortunately received encouragement and assistance from the elevating patronage of Dr. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, a zealous promoter of the study of antiquities. In such antiquarian investigations, he expended his patrimonial estate, and was forced, at the close of life, to submit to the receipt of a collection made for his relief. He died in 1605.

1. His first publication was "A Summary of the Chronicles of England, from the coming in of Brute* to his own time." This work was undertaken at the request of lord Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester, and originated in the following circumstance. In the year 1562, Stow, while in pursuit of rare and and curious MSS. accidentally met with a tract written by Edmund Dudley, his lordship's grandfather, intitled, "The Tree of the Commonwealth†," dedicated to Henry VIII.

* In my remark at the end of Holinshed's article, I have stated, from some strange inadvertence, not through neglect of previous examination, that, with that chronicler fable dies. The story of Brute is retained also by Stow.

† The book here mentioned was written by Dudley, while prisoner in the Tower, in the first year of Henry VIII, on account of

Stow retained the original MS. but transcribed a fair copy, which he presented to his lordship, who requested him to compile a work of the same nature. Hence resulted this Summary. It was reprinted in 1573, 8vo, with additions.

2. Stow next undertook the laborious task, "The survey of London." It was first published in 1598, and reprinted in his life-time, 1603.

I shall select a few short extracts from this work, which relate, first, to the early institu-

the oppressions and extortions, of which (together with Empsom) he had been guilty, as instrument of Henry VII. The objects of the work, the author himself explains thus: "The effect of this treatise, (says he,) consisteth in three especial points. First, remembrance of God, and the faithful of his holy church, in which every christian prince had need to begin. Secondly, of some conditions and demeanors necessary in every prince, both for his honour and assurity of his continuance. Thirdly, of the tree of the commonwealth, which touched people of every degree, of the conditions and demeanors they should be of." The book is supposed to have been written not merely as an employment for his thoughts in solitude, but in the hope that it might gain him favour with Henry, and be instrumental in extricating him from his difficulties. It did not reach the hands of his majesty, and the author was beheaded (with Empsom) the same year. The work was much talked of, and read by many, though never printed. Several MS. copies of it still exist in libraries.

tions of learning; and secondly, to some of the diversions, &c. prevalent among our ancestors.

In the reign of King Stephen, and of Henry II. saith Fitz-Stephen*, there were in London three principal churches, which had famous schools, either by privilege and ancient dignity, or by favour of some particular persons, as of doctors, which were counted notable and renowned for knowledge in philosophy: and there were other inferior schools also.

Upon festival days, the masters made solemn meetings in the churches, where their scholars disputed logically and demonstratively; some bringing Enthymems, others, perfect Syllogisms; some disputed for shew, others to trace out the truth: and cunning sophisters were thought brave scholars, when they flowed with words: others used fallacies. Rhetoricians spoke aptly to persuade, observing the precepts of art, and omitted nothing that might

* Fitz-Stephen was descended of Norman nobility, and born in London; and subsequently became monk of Canterbury. Besides many other works, he wrote a description of London in Latin, a small tract about 10 pages 4to, which was translated by Stow, and added to his Survey. In his time it appears, that there were 13 conventual, and 126 parochial churches in London; on which Fuller remarks, that "though there be, at this day, more bodies of men, there be fewer houses of God therein." He florished about 1190.

serve their purpose. The boys of divers schools did cap or pot verses, and contended of the principles of grammar.

There were some, which, on the other side, with epigrams and rhymes, nipping and quissing their fellows, and the faults of others, though suppressing their names, moved thereby much laughter among their auditors.

Hitherto Fitz-Stephen, for schools and scholars, and for their exercise in the city in his days. Since which time, as to me it seemeth, by increase of colleges, of students in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the frequenting of schools and exercising of scholars in the city as had been accustomed, very much decreased.

The three principal churches, which had these famous schools by privileges, must needs be the cathedral church of St. Paul for one; seeing that by a general council, holden in the year of Christ 1176, at Rome, in the patriarchy of Lateran, it was decreed, 'That every cathedral church should have its schoolmaster, to teach poor scholars, and others, as had been accustomed; and that no man should take any reward for licence to teach.'

The second, as most ancient, may seem to have been the monastery of St. Peter, at Westminster; whereof Ingulphus, abbot of Crowland, in the reign of William the Conqueror, writeth thus:

'I Ingulphus, an humble servant of God, born of English parents, in the most beautiful city of London, for to attain learning, was first put to Westminster, and after to study at Oxford,' &c.

And writing in praise of queen Edgitha, wife to Edward the Confessor:

'I have seen her, (saith he,) often, when, being but a boy, I came to see my father, dwelling in the king's court; and often, coming from school, when I met the queen, she would oppose me touching my learning and lesson, and, falling from grammar to logic, wherein she had some knowledge, she would subtlely conclude an argument with me; and by her handmaiden, give me three or four pieces of money, and send me unto the palace, where I should receive some victuals, and then be dismissed.'

The third school seemeth to have been at the monastery of St. Saviour, at Bermondsey in Southwark. For other priories, as of St. John by Smithfield, St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, St. Mary Overy in Southwark, and that of the Holy Trinity by Aldgate, were all of later foundation: and the friaries, colleges, and hospitals, in this city, were raised since them, in the reigns of Henry III, and Edward I, II, and III, &c. All which houses had their schools, though not so famous as these first named.

But, touching schools more lately advanced in

this city, I read, that king Henry V, having suppressed the priories aliens, whereof some were about London; namely, one hospital called, *Our Lady of Rouncival*, by Charing-Cross; one other hospital in Holborn; one other without Cripplegate, and the fourth without Aldersgate; besides others that are now worn out of memory, and whereof there is no monument remaining, more than Rouncival, converted to a brotherhood which continued till the reign of Henry VIII, or Edward VI. This, I say, and other of their schools being broken up, and ceased, king Henry VI, in the 24th year of his reign, by patent appointed, that there should be in London, grammar schools, besides St. Paul's, at St. Martin's Le Grand; St. Mary Le Bow in Cheap; St. Dunstan's in the West; and St. Anthony's. And, in the next year, to wit, 1394, the said king ordained by parliament, that four other grammar schools should be erected; to wit, in the parishes of St. Andrew in Holborn; Alhallows the Great in Thames-street; St. Peter's upon Cornhill; and in the hospital of St. Thomas of Acons in West Cheap. Since the which time, as divers schools by suppressing of religious houses whereof they were members in the reign of Henry VIII. have been decayed; so again have some others been newly erected and founded for them; as, namely, St. Paul's school, in place of an old ruined house, was built in most ample man-

ner, and largely endowed in the year 1512, by John Collet, doctor of divinity, and dean of Paul's, for 153 poor men's children; for which there was ordained a master, surmaster, or usher, and a chaplain.

Again, in the year 1553, after the erection of Christ's hospital, in the late dissolved house of the Grey Friars, a great number of poor children being taken in, a school was ordained there at the citizens' charges.

Also, in the year 1561, the merchant-taylors of London founded one notable free grammar school in the parish of St. Lawrence Poutney, by Candlewick-street; Richard Hills, late master of that company, having given 500*l.* towards the purchase of a house called the Manor of the Rose, sometime the duke of Buckingham's.

Of these schools more will be spoken in a proper chapter.

As for the meeting of school-masters on festival days, at festival churches, and the disputing of their scholars logically, &c. hereof I have before spoken, the same was long since discontinued. But the arguing of the school-boys about the principles of grammar, hath been continued even till our time: for I myself, in my youth, have yearly seen, on the eve of St. Bartholomew the apostle, the scholars of divers grammar schools repair unto the church-yard of St. Bartholomew, the priory in Smithfield, where

upon a bank boarded about under a tree, some one scholar hath stepped up, and there hath opposed and answered, till he were by some better scholar overcome and put down: and then the overcomer, taking the place, did like as the first; and in the end, the best opposers and answerers had rewards; which I observed not. But it made both good school-masters, and also good scholars, diligently against such times, to prepare themselves for the obtaining of this garland.

I remember there repaired to these exercises, amongst others, the masters and scholars of the free-schools of St. Paul's in London, of St. Peter's at Westminster, of sir Thomas Acon's hospital, and of St. Anthony's hospital; whereof the last named commonly presented the best scholars, and had the prize in those days.

This priory of St. Bartholomew being surrendered to Henry VIII. those disputations of scholars in that place surceased, and were again only for a year or two, in the reign of Edward VI. revived in the cloister of Christ's Hospital, where the best scholars then still of St. Anthony's school, howsoever the same be now fallen, both in number and estimation, were rewarded with bows and arrows of silver, given to them by sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith.

Nevertheless, howsoever, the encouragement failed; the scholars of Paul's, meeting with them of St.

Anthony's, would call them St. Anthony's *pigs*; and they again would call the others *pigeons* of Paul's, because many pigeons were bred in Paul's church, and St. Anthony was always figured with a pig following him; and mindful of the former usage, did, for a long season, disorderly in the open street provoke one another with, *salve: salve tu quoque. Placet tibi mecum disputare? Placet.* And so, proceeding from this to questions in grammar, they usually fell from words to blows, with their satchels full of books, many times in so great heaps, that they troubled the streets and passengers; so that finally they were restrained, with the decay of St. Anthony's school.

Out of this school have sprung divers famous persons; whereof, although time hath buried the names of many, yet in my own remembrance, may be numbered these following: viz. sir Thomas More, knight, lord chancellor of England; Dr. Nicholas Heath, sometime bishop of Rochester, after of Worcester, and lastly, archbishop of York, and lord chancellor of England. Dr. John Whitgift, bishop of Worcester, and after, archbishop of Canterbury.

Of Sports and Pastimes.

Representation of Miracles.

London, instead of common interludes belonging to the theatre, hath plays of a more holy subject; representations of those miracles which the holy confessors wrought, or of the sufferings, wherein the glorious constancy of martyrs did appear.

Of Cock-fighting and Ball.

Moreover, that we may begin with the school of youth, seeing once we were all children: yearly at Shrove-tide, the boys of every school bring fighting-cocks to their masters, and all the forenoon is spent at school, to see these cocks fight together. After dinner, all the youth of the city goeth to play at ball in the fields; the scholars of every study have their balls. The practisers also of all trades have every one their ball in their hands. The ancienter sort, the fathers and the wealthy citizens, come on horse-back to see these youngsters contending at their sport, with whom, in a manner, they participate by motion; stirring their own natural heat in the

view of the active youth, with whose mirth and liberty they seem to communicate.

Sports in Lent.

Every Sunday in lent, after dinner, a company of young men ride out into the fields on horses which are fit for war, and principal runners: every one among them is taught to run the rounds with his horse.

The citizens' sons issue out through the gates by troops, furnished with lances, and warlike shields; the younger sort have their pikes not headed with iron, where they make a representation of battle, and exercise a skirmish. There resort to this exercise many courtiers, when the king lies near hand, and young striplings out of the families of barons and great persons, which have not yet attained to the warlike girdle, to train and skirmish. Hope of victory inflames every one: the neighing of fierce horses bestir their joints and chew their bridles, and cannot endure to stand still: at last they begin their race, and then the young men divide their troops; some labour to outstrip their leaders, and cannot reach them; others fling down their fellows, and get beyond them.

Sea Fights.

In Easter holidays they counterfeit a sea fight: a pole is set up in the middle of the river, with a target well fastened thereon, and a young man stands in a boat which is rowed with oars, and driven on with the tide, who with his spear hits the target in his passage; with which blow, if he brake the spear and stand upright, so that he hold footing, he hath his desire; but, if his spear continue unbroken by the blow, he is tumbled into the water, and his boat passeth clear away; but on either side this target, two ships stand in ward, with many young men ready to take him up, after he is sunk, as soon as he appeareth again on the top of the water: The spectators stand upon the bridge, and in solars upon the river to behold these things, being prepared for laughter.

Summer Sports.

Upon the holidays all summer the youth is exercised in leaping, shooting, wrestling, casting of stones, and throwing of javelines fitted with loops for the purpose, which they strive to fling beyond the mark; they also use bucklers, like fighting men.

As for the maidens, they have their exercise of dancing and tripping until moon-light.

Fighting of Boars, Bulls, and Bears.

In winter, almost every holiday before dinner, the foaming boars fight for their heads, and prepare with deadly tusks to be made bacon; or else some lusty bulls or huge bears, are baited with dogs.

Sport upon Ice.

When that great moor which washeth Moor-fields, at the north wall of the city, is frozen over, great companies of young men go to sport upon the ice; then fetching a run, and setting their feet at a distance, and placing their bodies sidewise, they slide a great way. Others take heaps of ice, as if it were great mill-stones, and make seats: many going before, draw him that sits thereon, holding one another by the hand in going so fast, some slipping with their feet, all fall down together: some are better practised to the ice, and bind to their shoes bones, as the legs of some beasts, and hold stakes in their hands headed with sharp iron, which some-

times they strike against the ice; and these men go on with speed as doth a bird in the air, or darts shot from some warlike engine: sometimes two men set themselves at a distance, and run one against another as it were at tilt, with these stakes, wherewith one or both parties are thrown down, not without some hurt to their bodies; and after their fall, by reason of the violent motion, are carried a good distance from one another, and wheresoever the ice doth touch their head, it rubs off all the skin and lays it bare; and if one fall upon his leg or arm, it is usually broken; but young men greedy of honour, and desirous of victory, do thus exercise themselves in counterfeit battles, that they may bear the brunt more strongly, when they come to it in good earnest.

Sport with Birds and Dogs.

Many citizens take delight in birds, as sparrow-hawks, goss-hawks, and such like, and in dogs to hunt in the woody ground. The citizens have authority to hunt in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, all the Chilterns, and in Kent, as far as Gray-water.

In tumbling over these huge volumes, I met with an account of a very remarkable effect of fear, or rather of horror, which I shall insert for its astonishing singularity.

A person lately living in this hamlet (Poplar, a village on the Thames, adjoining Blackwall,) having a great concern for the safety of a ship that was like to break her back at Blackwall, had his blood and spirits set into such an extraordinary ferment, or ebullition rather, by the fear of her miscarriage, that by the violence of it, the tops of the nails of his hands and feet were cast off to a great distance from their natural situation, and so remained to his death.

The Survey of London was compiled with astonishing industry, and commonly with equal accuracy, from the most authentic records and historians. Stow was urged to the task (as he says himself) by a general invitation of Mr. Lambard to several of the cotemporary antiquaries, to write the histories of their native counties. The work gives a view of the government of the city both ecclesiastical and civil—of the churches, hospitals, and religious houses, down to the fortieth year of queen Elizabeth. The

most complete edition of this work, with considerable additions and improvements, is that of Strype, in two very large volumes folio, 1720; which was reprinted in 1755, still improved. The subsequent compilations of the accounts of London—those of Hatton, Seymour, and Maitland, are founded on Stow's Survey.

3. The only other work published in our author's life-time, was that entitled, *Flores Historiarum,* or Annals of England, from the time of the Ancient Britons to his own; which was merely an abstract of his larger work, stiled,

4. "The Chronicle, or History of England;" which work entire was considered by the bookseller to be too extensive a speculation, at that particular time, on account of the recent publication of Holinshed. This production was published from his papers after his death by Edmund Howes, in one folio volume, and which is commonly known by the name of Stow's Chronicle. It was printed in 1615, and 1631, in black letter.

5. But even this publication is said not to contain the whole of that far larger work which Stow left prepared for the press. This

might possibly be the Chronicle of Reyne Wolf mentioned by Nicholson, and which Stow was engaged to publish by archbishop Whitgift. The MS. here alluded to, came into the possession of sir Simon Dewes; and was subsequently obtained by the earl of Oxford.

According to Mr. Howes, Stow always "protested never to have written any thing, either for malice, fear, or favour, nor to seek his own particular gain, or vain glory; and that his only pains and care was to write the truth." Agreeably to this statement, it is commonly allowed, that Stow surpasses all preceding chroniclers in judgment, as well as in industry: nor has his honesty ever been questioned.

KNOLLES.

Richard Knolles, was born in Northamptonshire, and educated at Oxford, where he entered in 1560, took his degrees in arts, and was elected Fellow of Lincoln College. He was subsequently master of a free school at Sandwich in Kent; where he died in 1610.

Knolles is chiefly known to posterity by his "General History of the Turks, from the first beginning of that Nation, to the rising of the Ottoman Family," &c. 1610. This history has been continued by several hands. One continuation was collected from the dispatches of sir Peter Wyche, knight, ambassador at Constantinople, and extended from 1623 to 1677; but the best is that of Ricaut, consul of Smyrna, from the year 1623 to 1677. Lond. 1680, folio. It begins from a period earlier than that at which Knolles terminates. In

his preface to the reader, Ricaut observes that, "the reign of sultan Amurat, being imperfectly wrote in Knolles's History, consisting for the most part, of abrupt collections, he had thought fit, for the better completing the reign of that sultan, and the whole body of our Turkish history, to deliver all the particular transactions thereof with his own pen."

As a specimen of the manner of this historian, I select his account of the siege of Jerusalem, in the beginning of the first volume.

The governor of Jerusalem understanding, by his espials, of the proceedings of the Christians, had before their approach, got into the city a great garrison of right valiant soldiers, with good store of all things necessary for the holding out of a long siege. The Christians with their army approaching the city, encamped before it on the north; for that towards the east, and the south, it was not well to be besieged, by reason of the broken rocks and mountains. Next unto the city lay Godfrey the duke, with the Germans and Lorrains; near unto him lay the earl of Flanders, and Robert the Norman; before the west gate lay Tancred and the earl of Tholouse: Bohemund and Baldwin were both absent; the one at Antioch, the other at Edessa. The

Christians thus strongly encamped, the fifth day after gave unto the city a fierce assault, with such cheerfulness, as that it was verily supposed, it might have been even then won, had they been sufficiently furnished with scaling ladders; for want whereof, they were glad to give over the assault and retire. But within a few days after, having supplied that defect, and provided all things necessary, they came on again afresh, and with all their power gave unto the city a most terrible assault, wherein was on both sides seen great valour, policy, and cunning, with much slaughter; until that at length the Christians, weary of the long fight, and in that hot country, and most fervent time of the year, fainting for lack of water, were glad again to forsake the assault, and to retire into their trenches: only the well of Siloe yielded them water, and that not sufficient for the whole camp; the rest of the wells, which were but few, being before by the enemy either filled up, or else poisoned.

Whilst the Christians thus lay at the siege of Jerusalem, a fleet of the Genoese arrived at Joppa: at which time also a great fleet of the Egyptian sultan's lay at Ascalon, to have brought relief to the besieged Turks in Jerusalem; whereof the Genoese understanding, and knowing themselves too weak to encounter them at sea, took all such things out of their ships as they thought good, and so sinking

them, marched by land unto the camp. There was amongst these Genoese divers engineers, men (after the manner of that time) cunning in making of all manner of engines fit for the besieging of cities; by whose device, a great moving tower was framed of timber and thick planks, covered over with raw hides, to save the same from fire; out of which the Christians might in safety greatly annoy the defendants. This tower being by night brought close to the wall, served the Christians instead of a most sure fortress in the assault the next day; where whilst they strive with warlike valour, and doubtful victory on both sides, from morning until mid-day, by chance the wind favouring the Christians, carried the flame of the fire into the face of the Turks, wherewith they had thought to have burnt the tower, with such violence, that the Christians taking the benefit thereof, and holpen by the tower, gained the top of the wall; which was first footed by the duke Godfrey, and his brother Eustace, with their followers, and the ensigns of the duke there first set up, to the great encouraging of the Christians, who now pressing in on every side, like a violent river that had broken over the banks, bare down all before them. All were slain that came to hand, men, women, and children, without respect of age, sex, or condition: the slaughter was great, and the sight lamentable; all the streets were filled with blood, and

the bodies of the dead; death triumphing in every place.

Yet in this confusion, a wonderful number of the better sort of the Turks retiring to Solomon's Temple, there to do their last devoir, made there a great and terrible fight, armed with despair, to endure any thing; and the victorious Christians no less disdaining, after the winning of the city, to find there so great resistance. In this desperate conflict, fought with wonderful obstinacy of mind, many fell on both sides: but the Christians came on so fiercely, with desire of blood, that breaking into the temple, the foremost of them were by the press of them that followed after, violently thrust upon the weapons of their enemies, and so miserably slain. Neither did the Turks thus oppressed, give it over, but as men resolved to die, desperately fought it out with invincible courage, not at the gates of the temple only, but even in the midst thereof also, where was to be seen great heaps, both of the victors and the vanquished, slain indifferently together. All the pavement of the temple swam with blood, in such sort, that a man could not set his foot, but either upon some dead man, or over the shoes in blood: yet for all that, the obstinate enemy still held the vaults, and top of the temple, when as the darkness of the night came so fast on, that the Christians were glad to make an end of the slaughter, and to

sound a retreat. The next day (for proclamation was made, for mercy to be shown unto all such as should lay down their weapons) the Turks that yet held the upper part of the temple, came down and yielded themselves. Thus was the famous city of Jerusalem, with great bloodshed, but far greater honour, recovered by these worthy Christians, in the year 1099, after it had been in the hands of the infidels above four hundred years.

The next day, after having buried the dead and cleansed the city, they gave thanks to God with public prayers and great rejoicing. The poor Christians before oppressed, now overcome with unexpected joy, welcomed their victorious brethren with great joy and praise: and the soldiers embracing one another, sparing to speak of themselves, freely commended each other's valour. Eight days after, the princes of the army meeting together, began to consult about the choice of their king: among whom was no such difference, as might well show which was to be preferred before the others. And although every one of them, for prowess and desert, seemed worthy of so great an honour, yet by the general consent of all, it was given to Robert, duke of Normandy; who about the same time hearing of the death of the Conqueror, his father, and more in love with his father's new gotten kingdom in England, in hope thereof, refused the kingdom of Jerusalem, then offered unto

him; which at his return he found possessed by William Rufus, his younger brother; and so in hope of a better refusing the worse, upon the matter lost both.

After whose departure, Godfrey of Boulogne, duke of Lorraine (whose ensign was first displayed upon the walls) was by the general consent, both of the princes and the army, saluted king; he was a great soldier, and indued with many heroical virtues, brought up in the court of the emperor Henry IV, and by him much employed. At the time of his inauguration, he refused to be crowned with a crown of gold, saying, "That it became not a Christian man there to wear a crown of gold, where Christ, the son of God, had for the salvation of mankind sometime worn a crown of thorns."

Knolles likewise wrote the two following works, which were published after his death. 1. The Lives and Conquests of the Ottoman Kings and Emperors to the year 1610; printed in 1621, and continued to that year by another hand. 2. A Brief Discourse of the Greatness of the Turkish Empire, and wherein the greatest Strength thereof consisteth, &c.

AGARD.

ARTHUR AGARD, antiquarian, was born at Toston, in Derbyshire, in 1540. Being bred to the law, he became clerk in the exchequer office, and in 1570, was appointed deputy chamberlain in the exchequer. His office was favourable to the gratification of his ruling taste, and he amassed a great number of antique monuments. He died in 1615.

Agard studied Domesday-book with great diligence, and composed,

1. An extensive work, entitled, *Tractatus de Usu et obscurioribus Verbis Libri de Domesday*, preserved in the Cotton library, under Vitellius, No. IX.

2. He likewise drew up a book for the benefit of his successors in office; which consisted of two parts; the first containing a catalogue

of all the records in the four treasuries belonging to his majesty; the second, an account of all leagues, and treaties of peace, intercourses, and marriages with foreign nations. This he deposited with the officers of his majesty's receipt, as an index for succeeding officers.

3. Moreover, he directed by his will, that eleven other of his MS. treatises should be delivered up to the office, in consideration of a small reward paid to his executor.

4. The rest of his collections, comprehending at least twenty volumes, bequeathed to his friend sir Robert Cotton, are reposited in the Cottonian library.

Arthur Agard is famous as having been one of the first members of the society of antiquarians*. A collection of their essays was published by Hearne, under the title of "Discourses by eminent Antiquaries," among which are several of our author. I shall extract the following as one of the most curious. It has the advantage too of furnishing a complete extract.

* In this society, among other names of antiquarian celebrity are thoe of Camden, sir Robert Cotton, Selden, sir Henry Spelman, Stow, Thynne, &c.

Of what Antiquity Shires were in England.

It is easily to be perceived by the reading of our old English histories, that this land hath been divided into sundry kingdoms, the one invading the other, as they found strength and opportunity; in which kingdoms every king had his chief city or place of abode: whereof sundry examples might be recited, which I omit, because I will contain myself within the lists of our order.

After that being subdued by some one more strong than the rest, as I suppose, by king Alured; for I find by a register book of Chertsey Abbey, written in king John's time, as I think, because he endeth his history at that time, that the same king wrote himself, *Totius Insulæ Britannicæ Basileus*, and that he divided this land into *Centuriatas*.

Now, in the 33d chapter of the Black Book is contained thus: *Hida à primitiva institutione ex centum acris constat; hundredus vero ex hidarum aliquot contenariis set non determinatur. Quidam enim ex pluribus, quidam ex paucioribus hidis constat: hinc hundredum in veteribus regum Anglicorum privilegiis centuriatam nominari frequenter invenies; comitatus autem eadem lege ex hundredis constat; hoc est, quidam ex*

pluribus, quidam ex paucioribus secundum quod divisa est terra per viros discretos, &c.

Whereby it appeareth, that *Centuriata* is and was taken of old for a hundred; and that sundry hundreds make a shire. So that he dividing the land first into hundreds, did afterwards appoint, what number of hundreds should belong to every shire; and then appointed the same shire to be called by the name of the chief town of that circuit or province; as you see they be called at this day; except a few, which be called by the name of the peoples there dwelling, having relation to the Romans, who from Rome called *Cisalpini* and *Transalpini*, so from London Estsex, *i. e.* Est Saxons, Middlesex, Westsex, Chent, Surregiani *vel* Suthreg, Northfolk, and Sudfolk; names brought in by the Saxons. And herein this nation hath imitated the course mentioned in the Bible; for ever from the creation of the world and multiplication thereof, every people knew their own territories. Joshua likewise divided the land of promise into tribes. The Psalms say in the 49, *And they call their lands by their names.*

Therefore all old antiquity divided the world into parts, as *Asia*, *Africa*, *Europa*; and parts into provinces; provinces into regions or kingdoms; regions into places or territories; territories into fields; fields into hundreds; hundreds into hides or plough lands; plough lands into severed or common fields, called

climata; climates into days work of tillage; days work into poles or perches, paces, degrees, cubits, feet, handfuls, ounces, and inches; such was their great diligence. And because kings found by experience that *Ubi nullus ordo, ibi sempiternus error*, or, as some say, *horror;* to prevent that inconvenience in government, as the Black Book saith in the 32d chap. *ut quilibet jure suo contentus, alienum non usurpet impune*—Kings, I say, thought good to divide that great log or huge mass of a commonwealth into particular governments, giving authority to sundry persons in every government, to guide their charge, thereby following the advice of Jethro, Moses's father-in-law, given to Moses in the wilderness. The same manner used Fergus, king of Scots, who reigned there when Coilus reigned in Britain; of whom it is written, that he divided his land into provinces, and caused his nobles to cast lots for the same, and called every country by the name of his governor. And king Henry II. imitated the like in sending his justices itinerant through the land to execute justice in every shire.

So as to conclude, I think that king Alured was the first that caused shires to be called by their names, because he divided the land into hundreds; and that which other nations call province, we call shire; and that is the right name in Latin; for so

doth Witlesey, the monk of Peterborough, call it in the 37th leaf of his book, saying, *In provinciâ Lincolniæ non sunt Hidæ terræ, sicut in aliis provinciis; sed pro hidis sunt carucatæ terræ, et tantum continent, quantum Hidæ, &c.*

CAMDEN.

WILLIAM CAMDEN, the eminent English antiquary and historian, was born at Litchfield, in Staffordshire, in 1551; but his father, who was a painter-stainer, removing to London, he spent the first years of his education at Christ's Hospital, and afterwards at St. Paul's School. In 1566, he entered as servitor in Magdalene College, Oxford; though he afterwards removed to Broad-gate-Hall, now Pembroke College, and then to Christ-church, being patronised and even supported by Dr. Thornton, canon of Christ-church.

He quitted Oxford in 1571, and repaired for the present to London; but soon after travelled over the greater part of England. To quote his own words—"*Relictâ academiâ, studio incitata satis magnam Angliæ partem fide ocu*

latâ obivi." On his return to college in 1573, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Two years after, by the interest of dean Goodman, or as some say, of sir Philip Sidney, he was made second master of Westminster school, which he held till the resignation of Dr. Grant, whom he succeeded as head-master in 1592-3. Prior to this, however, he obtained the prebend of Ilfracomb, bestowed upon him by Dr. John Piers, bishop of Salisbury. In 1597, at the instance of sir Fulk Greville, he was created by queen Elizabeth, Clarenceaux, *king at arms;* and the day before was made *Richmond Herald*: as the being a herald is rendered by the constitution an indispensible pre-requisite to the office of king at arms. He died in 1623, in the 74th year of his age.

1. The first and greatest work of Camden is his *Britannia;* of which the full title is—*Britannix, sive Florentissimorum, Regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et Insularum adjacentium ex intimâ antiquitate, chorographica Descriptio.* London, 1586, 8vo. *i. e.* "Britain, or a Chronological Description of the flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the adjacent Islands, from the most remote antiquity." The work was much en-

larged and improved in subsequent editions; a complete list of which I extract from Mr. Beloe's Anecdotes, recently published; and which may be depended upon (he says) as accurate.

"1. 1586, printed by R. Newbery, 12mo.
"2. 1587, —— —— 12mo.
"3. 1590, —— G. Bishop, 8vo.
"4. 1594, —— —— 4to.
"5. 1600, —— —— 4to.

"This is the first edition of Camden which was published with maps.

"6. 1607, printed by G. Bishop, folio.
"7. 1610, —— —— folio.

"All the above-mentioned editions of Camden were in Latin. The first edition in English was in 1610, and in folio.

"This was translated by the indefatigable Philemon Holland, who was supposed to have been assisted by Camden himself. 'Therefore,' observes Mr. Gough, 'great regard has been paid to his additions and explanations.' But what is very extraordinary, and indeed unaccountable, in an author of Mr. Gough's accuracy, he is, in the passage referred to, (Life Camden, p. 20.) called Philip Holland.

"The eighth edition, in 1617, was a Latin abridgment by Lirizæus, in 12mo.

"9. 1637, folio, Philemon Holland's second edition. With this edition, says Mr. Gough, Holland has taken unwarrantable liberties. Mr. Wanley thinks that this edition was published after Holland's death.

"10. 1639, a second edition of Lirizæus's abridgment, in 12mo.

"11. 1695, folio. This was the first edition by bishop Gibson.

"12. 1722, 2 vol. folio.

"13. 1753, 2 vol. folio.

"14. 1772, 2 vol. folio.

"15. 1789, 2 vol.

"This was Mr. Gough's edition.

"The following memorandum from one of Hearne's Diaries, preserved in the Bodleian, forms no unimportant appendage to the above catalogue.

"'There is in the Ashmolean Museum, amongst Mr. Ashmole's books, a very fair folio MS. handsomely bound, containing an English translation of Mr. Camden's *Britannia*, by Richard Knolles, the same that writ the History of the Turks. This book was found locked up in a box, in Mr. Camden's

study, after his death. Mr. Camden set a great value upon it. I suppose it was presented by the author to Mr. Camden. Philemon Holland's translation came out in 1610, which was the year in which Knolles died.'"

From this note of Hearne, Mr. Beloe very naturally suspects, that, Camden might have lent Knolles's translation to Holland, as he communicated with him on the subject; and consequently, that Holland's is not his own genuine translation—a fact, however, which (as he observes) may be ascertained by examining the MS. referred to in the Ashmolean collection.

Mr. Gough's translation appeared in 1789, (from the edition of 1607,) enlarged by the latest discoveries, and illustrated with a new set of maps, and other copper-plates. This work was the result of many years' travel, inquiry, and labour.

Camden informs us, that he was employed ten years in compiling his *Britannia;* and that the plan of the publication was suggested to him by Ortelius, the geographer; though he had been before employed in making collections. Ortelius coming to England, applied to Camden for information respecting

the state of the country; and learning what he had done, persuaded him to enlarge his materials, and prepare them for the public eye. To accomplish himself for this arduous undertaking, he had to learn the British and Saxon languages, to peruse the ancient English historians, and to survey various parts of England. All this he performed with indefatigable perseverance; and has thus erected a monument, alike to his own and his country's honour. He put the last hand to this great work, in 1607, and now obtained the flattering titles of the Varro, the Strabo, and the Pausanias of his age.

2. While master of Westminster school, he drew up a Greek Grammar, which is still considered as a good introduction to that language. This grammar, however, was not properly speaking his own; but merely an abridgment of a more copious one compiled by his predecessor, Mr. Edward Grant.

3. During his intervals of leisure from school-occupation, a common recreation with him was, to view the monuments in the Abbey, of which he published a catalogue in 1600; and some fragments still remain of a similar list which he had begun of the monu-

ıts in the churches and chapels of Ox-
l.

. In 1603, was published at Francfort, his
ıme of "English Historians." The Latin
of this book is—*Anglica, Normanica,*
ernica, Cambrica, a veteribus Descripta:
uibus Asser Menevensis, Anonymus de Vitâ
ielmi Conquestoris, Thomas Walsingham,
mas de la More, Gulielmus Genuticensis,
ıldus Cambrensis; plerique nunc in lucem
ex bibliothecâ Gulielmi Camdeni. Fran-
rti, folio, 1603. This collection has been
great utility: for it has served as the com-
ı source of documents for all our modern
ories.

. The following year he published his
emains," which he dedicated to his friend
Robert Cotton. The title complete is—
emains of a Greater Work concerning
ain, the Inhabitants thereof, their Lan-
ges, Names, Surnames, Impresses, Wise
eches, Poesies, and Epitaphs;" London,
5, 4to. The design of this work was, to
serve to posterity a great variety of curious
igs communicated to him, while making
ections for his *Britannia,* and which he
bably thought did not exactly accord

with the main object of that more finished work.

6. On the discovery of the gun-powder plot, Camden was pitched upon by James, to draw up in Latin a statement of the whole affair, with a view to justify the king's proceedings against the conspirators, and to give timely notice to the reformed churches of Europe, of the inveterate animosity of the Catholics. This production was also published in 1607, and was among the books expressly prohibited by the church of Rome.

7. His last work was the "Annals of Queen Elizabeth," begun in the year 1597, but not published till 1615. It came no lower down than 1589. At the instance of his friends, he was induced to continue it; but his second volume did not appear till after his death, in 1625.

8. From the death of queen Elizabeth to his own, he kept a diary of all the remarkable transactions in the reign of her successor, James. This was afterwards published, together with his Letters.

9. Being a member of the society of antiquaries, he wrote also many learned and curious essays on British Antiquities. The pre-

servation of a few of these we owe to the industry of Thomas Hearne. I shall select one of them as forming a complete, if not the best extract which might have been found.

Of the Antiquity, Office, and Privilege of Heralds in England.

Among all civil nations, since civility first entered the world, there have been officers of arms as mediators to negociate peace and war between princes and countries. The ancient Greeks called them Κήρυκες, by whose mediation solemn covenants with their enemies were made. They were men of especial reputation, and carried for their ensign a *Caduceus*, whereupon they were also called *Caduceatores*, which was a white staff, whereunto were fixed two serpents, male and female, whereunto was added afterwards *Copia-cornu*. The staff was white, in token of simple truth; the serpents betokened wisdom; both sexes, as also the *Copia-cornu*, betokened fruitful increase and plenty, the companions of peace. They were sent to redeem captives, to treat of peace, to procure safe conducts for ambassadors, to require the dead bodies to be buried. Inviolable they were in the greatest rage of war, and reputed men of a divine original, as first descended from Κήρυκος, the son of Mercury, of whom they were named Κήρυκες,

and hereupon Homer calleth Eumedes Θεῖον Κήρυκα. It were needless here to mention their rites in making peace, how they brought two lambs fruits in a bottle of goat-skin, golden chargers, and other vessels, &c. as it is noted by Homer.

The Romans likewise had their *Fœciales*, so called *à fide et fœdere faciendo*, first instituted in Italy by Hessus, and brought to Rome first by Ancus Martius: their college consisted of twenty. The principal was called *Pater Patratus*, because it was requisite that he should be *Patrimus*, that is, have his father alive, and he himself have children. The second was called *Verbenaceus*, because when the *Fœciales* were sent *clarigatum*, that is, to challenge goods taken away *clarâ voce*, he carried the herb *verbena* with flint stones *et vivax è cespite gramen*, as Ovid calleth it, which he received of the *Prætor*.

Dionysius Halicarnass. recordeth, that six especial points were incident to their office. First, that they should have a care, lest the people of Rome should wage war against any of their confederates. Secondly, that they should challenge and require again goods injuriously taken away by enemies. Thirdly, that they should proclaim war against such as refused to make restitution. Fourthly, that they should take notice of injuries done contrary to covenants. Fifthly, that they should carefully provide that conditions should be faithfully observed. Sixth—

ly, that they should treat and compound peace, and take notice what generals and commanders had done contrary to their oath. When they required restitution, they wore on their head a hood of yarn, and used these words: *Audi Jupiter, audite Fines, auditat Fas, ego sum publicus nuncius populi Romani, juste pieque legatus venio, verbisque meis fides sit, &c.* Likewise, when they proclaimed war, they did cast into the enemies' country a bloody spear burned at the upper end, uttering these words, as Au. Gellius reporteth: *Quod populus Hermundulus, hominesque populi Hermunduli adversus populum Romanum bellum fecere deliquereque; Quodque populus Romanus cum populo Hermundulo hominibusque Hermundulis bellum jussit, ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populo Hermundulo populisque Hermundulis bellum indico facioque.* But this was *stante republicâ.* Under the emperors, as I find no mention of the *Fœciales*, yet it seemed they continued: for when Ammianus Marcellinus maketh mention of the siege of Amidas under Julian, he reported that a Persian did cast into the town a bloody lance, *ut moris est nostri.* After the decay of the Roman empire, and erection of kingdoms, the heralds of the old Franks carried *virgas consecratas*, when they were employed in messages, that they might not be touched or troubled by any: and this was *juxta ritum Francorum*, as Gregorius Turonensis writeth, *libro* 7, *capite* 32.

But in the time of Carolus Magnus began both the reputation, honour, and name of Heralds, as Æneas Sylvius reporteth out of an old library book of St. Paul, the author whereof derived their name from *Heros*; but others, to whom most incline, from the German word *Herald*, which signifieth, Old and ancient master. Yet he which writeth notes upon Willeram, saith, that Herald signifieth, Faithful to the army; and I have found in some Saxon treatise, *Heold* interpreted *Summus Præpositus*. Nevertheless, this name is rare or not found in the history of Charles the Great, nor in the times ensuing, for a long space, either by our writers, or French writers. The first mention that I remember of them in England, was about the time of king Edward I. For in the statute of arms or weapons, [it was ordained,] that the Kings of Heralds should wear no armour but their swords, pointless; and that they should only have their *Houses dès Armes*, and no more, which, as I conceive, are their coats of arms. The name and honour of them was never greater in this realm than in the time of king Edward III; in whose time there were Kings of Arms, Heralds, and Poursevants by patent, not only peculiar to the king, but to others of the principal nobility: and Froissart writeth that king Edward III. made a Poursevânt of arms, which brought him speedy tidings of happy success in the battle of Auroye in Britanny, immediately upon the

receipt of the news, an herald giving him the name of Windesone; and at that time were liveries of coats of arms first given unto heralds, with the king's arms embroidered thereon, as the king himself had his robe royal set with lions of gold. In France also, as the said Froissart writeth, the same time Philip de Valois increased greatly the state royal of France, with jousts, tourneys, and heralds. As for the privileges of heralds, I refer you to the treatise thereof purposely written by Paul, bishop of Burgos in Spain.

Camden was acquainted either personally, or by correspondence, with the greater part of the most celebrated characters of his time, both at home and abroad. Scarcely a foreigner came to England without visiting Camden. He was visited by six German noblemen at one time, at whose request he wrote his Lemma in each of their books, as a testimony that they had seen him. He corresponded regularly with the famous Gruter; and Peirescius, the great patron of learning, he ranked among the number of his friends. His epistolary acquaintance with Thuanus, the universal historian of the sixteenth century, did not commence till 1606. He cau-

tioned that historian in his account of Scotch affairs, against touching them with too rude a hand; but Thuanus treated the conduct of Mary, queen of Scots, with such severity, as to give great umbrage to her son James I, who employed Camden to write animadversions on that part of the history, which he accordingly did, representing Mary in colours far more favourable than either Thuanus, or Buchanan had painted her. Camden was also intimately acquainted with Hottoman, secretary to Robert, earl of Leicester; with Franciscus Pithæus, and Petrus Puteanus; with Mr. Thomas Savil, and his brother, sir Henry Savil; with archbishop Usher, who assisted him in the affairs of Ireland, and Dr. Johnston of Aberdeen, who did him a similar service in respect of the antiquities of Scotland. Sir Robert Cotton, from whose library he derived great advantage, was his intimate friend, and his companion both in his studies and in his travels. He corresponded also with Dr. James, first keeper of the Bodleian Library; and sir Henry Spelman stiles him his ancient friend.

At sixty years of age, his constitution being much impaired, he retired to Chesilhurst,

about ten miles from London. Here he compiled a great part of his "Annals of Queen Elizabeth," and here also he died.

In 1622, two years before his death, he founded, at Oxford, a *history-lecture;* and for the maintenance of a professor, transferred all his right in the manor of Bexley in Kent, to the chancellor, masters, and scholars of the university. His books of heraldry, he bequeathed to the Heraldry-office; the rest, both printed and manuscript, to the library of sir Robert Cotton; but by the contrivance of Dr. John Williams, lord keeper of England, bishop of Lincoln, and dean of Westminster, who took advantage of an equivocal expression in the will, the printed part was afterwards removed to the library newly established in the church of Westminster.

The taste of Camden for antiquities was conspicious from early youth. When a school boy, any thing antique inspired him with an ardent attention; and at the university, every moment of leisure was devoted to his favourite pursuit. The bent of his mind ever led him to the contemplation of stately camps, and ruinous castles, the venerable monuments of departed ages.

HOOKER.

Richard Hooker, an eminent divine, was born at Heavy-tree, near Exeter, in 1553-4. His parents being in low circumstances, had intended him for a trade; but this destination was happily over-ruled by the representations of his school-master at Exeter, who spoke so warmly of his natural endowments, and of his rapid progress, that they were induced to continue him some time longer at school.

Meanwhile, his uncle, who was chamberlain of the city, was disposed to notice him; and being known to Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, intreated that prelate to look favourably upon his poor nephew, whose parents were incapacitated by their situation in life, from bestowing upon him that liberal

education which was suitable to his promising talents. The good bishop finding this representation well founded, took young Hooker under his protection, settled a pension upon him, which, with a small contribution from his uncle, enabled him to support himself respectably at Oxford, where he entered at Corpus Christi College, in 1567.

In 1571, he lost his benevolent patron; though his place was fortunately supplied by Dr. Cole, president of the college, and Dr. Edwyn Sandys, bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of York. He had been so favourably represented by bishop Jewel to Sandys, that he sent his son to Oxford, though himself had been of Cambridge, that he might have the advantage of becoming the pupil of Hooker. He had also another pupil of note in Cranmer, the grand nephew of archbishop Cranmer the martyr, with both of whom his friendship was intimate, and lasting.

He was elected, in 1577, fellow of his college, and about two years after, was appointed deputy-professor of Hebrew, the professor having become deranged.

Soon after his taking orders, in 1581, he had the misfortune to preach at St. Paul's Cross, in London, where, by the arts of a designing woman in whose house he lodged for a few days, he was inveigled into a marriage with her daughter, which proved the source of disquietude to him throughout life.

Driven now from his fellowship and college, he supported himself with difficulty till the year 1584, when he was presented by John Cheny, Esq. to the rectory of Drayton Beauchamp, in Buckinghamshire, where he continued about a year, when by the interest of Sandys, his patron, he was made Master of the Temple. But this situation neither accorded with his temper nor his literary pursuits, and he petitioned the archbishop of Canterbury to be removed to "some quiet parsonage." He obtained his desire, and in 1591, the rectory of Boscomb, in Wiltshire, was conferred upon him. The same year, he was likewise presented to the prebend of Nether-Haven, in the church of Sarum, of which he was also made sub-dean. In 1595, he removed to Bishop's-Bourne, in Kent, to the rectory of which he was presented by queen Elizabeth;

and here he spent the remainder of his life. He died in 1600, from an accidental illness, when he was only forty-seven years of age.

Hooker's great work is his "Ecclesiastical Polity." The most accurate account of the tracts, &c. which gave birth to it, is given by Mr. Beloe, and is as follows:

"Neither Walton, in his Life of Hooker, nor bishop Gauden, nor many others, that give an account of Hooker and his writings, make mention of the particular books or tracts which gave occasion to his writing the Ecclesiastical Polity. Whitgift had written an answer to the Admonition to the Parliament, and thereby engaged in a controversy with Thomas Cartwright, the supposed author of it. Hooker, in this his excellent work, undertook the defence of our ecclesiastical establishment, against which Cartwright appears to have been the most powerful of all the opponents.

"Accordingly, we find throughout his work, references to T. C. lib. p. , but citing no book by its proper title, we are at a loss at this day to know with whom he was contending. It is therefore necessary to state the controversy, the order whereof is this:

"Admonition to the Parliament, viz. the first

and second, in a small duodecimo volume. No date or place.

"An Answer to an Admonition to the Parliament, by John Whitgift, D. of Divinitie, 4to. printed by Bynneman, 1572.

"1. A Replie to the Answer, by T. C. no date or place. 4to. N. B. Of this there are two editions, differing in the order of numbering the pages.

"A Second Answer of Whitgift, as must be presumed from the title of the next article, and is probably no other than a book mentioned in Ames's Typ. Antiq. 329, by the title of A Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, folio. 1574. Printed by Bynneman.

"2. A Second Replie of Cartwright (his name at length) against Whitgift's Second Answer, 4to. 1575. No place.

"3. The rest of the Second Replie of Cartwright against Whitgift's Second Answer.

"Upon a reference to these several publications of Cartwright, and a careful examination of sundry passages cited from him by Hooker, it most evidently appears that, by

"T. C. Lib. is meant No. 1, as above described.

"By T. C. Lib. 3. No. 3.

"But here it is to be observed, that the references to Lib. 1. agree but with one edition of it, namely, that which has the table to the principal points at the beginning, and not at the end, as the other has. The difference between them is, that in the former, the numbers of the pages commence with the Address to the Church of England; in the latter with the book itself: so that to give one instance of difference, this passage 'It is no small Injury' is to be found in page 25 of one edition, and in page 14 of the other.

"In Ames's Typ. Antiq. 329, is this article, which seems to be a collateral branch of the controversy, 'A Defence of the Ecclesiastical Regiment of England defaced, by T. C. in his Replie against D. Whitgift, D. D.' 12mo. 1574.

"It does not appear that this defence is of Whitgift's writing, yet it has the name of his printer, 'Bynneman.'

"Fuller, in his Church History, Book IX, 102, gives an account of Cartwright, and of his dispute with Whitgift, which is very erroneous; for he makes it to end at Whitgift's Defence of his Answer: nay, he goes farther, and assigns reasons for Cartwright's silence.

and second [illegible]nt till long after, date or pl[illegible] in the Tracts, No. "An [illegible] The relation of the ment, [illegible], in his History of the print[illegible]55 *et seq.* is very fair and

"

or [illegible]thstanding the Ecclesiastical Po-
([illegible] considered as originating in the [illegible]state of the theological controversies [illegible]times, it was yet occasioned, or at [illegible]especially promoted, by a particular cause. At the time when Hooker was chosen master of the Temple, Walter Travers filled the place of afternoon-lecturer there. Travers was a man of learning, a good preacher, and of unexceptionable life; but having been ordained by the presbytery at Antwerp, he was zealously attached to the Geneva discipline. His theological sentiments too were strictly Calvinistical, while those of Hooker were of a more liberal cast. Travers had the hope, that should he be elected master, he should be enabled to introduce the discipline of Geneva into the Temple; and accordingly exerted his interest to obtain the mastership. But disappointed in his views by the appointment of Hooker, he began to attack the established

scheme of church polity from the pulpit, and his lectures were filled with discussions of topics relative to doctrine, discipline, and the ceremonies of the church. Hooker felt it incumbent upon him to repel this attack, also from the pulpit; so that it was pleasantly observed, "that the forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon Geneva." This contest was conducted without bitterness, yet with so much zeal, that Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, thought proper to condemn Travers to silence; who, upon this, presented "a Supplication to the Privy Council," in which he complained that he had been judged and condemned without being heard, objected to Hooker's doctrine, and prayed to be restored to his ministry. This being disregarded, his "Supplication" was privately printed and dispersed; which called forth an answer from Hooker in a letter to the archbishop, which was highly commended by the advocates of the existing establishment, and as eagerly condemned by the favourers of Puritanism.

Firmly persuaded that he had truth on his side, he was desirous of producing a more complete and extensive conviction. In the hope therefore, of placing the dispute beyond

the reach of future controversy, he began the elaborate and learned treatise, "Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity." It was that he might proceed without interruption, in the arduous task he had undertaken, that he solicited a removal from the Temple. His letter on this occasion to the archbishop, is so characteristic of the man, that it deserves to be transcribed.

My Lord,

When I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my college, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage. But I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place; and indeed, God and nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. And, my Lord, my particular contests here with Mr. Travers, have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions. And to satisfy that, I have consulted the Holy Scripture, and other laws, both human and divine, whether the conscience of him, and others of his judgment, ought to be so far complied with by us, as to alter our frame of church-government, our manner of God's worship, our praising, and praying to Him, and our established ceremonies, as often as

their tender consciences shall require us. And in this examination, I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a treatise, in which I intend the satisfaction of others, by a demonstration of the reasonableness of our laws of ecclesiastical polity. But, my lord, I shall never be able to finish what I have begun, unless I be removed into some quiet parsonage, where I may see God's blessings spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread in peace and privacy: a place where I may, without disturbance, meditate my approaching mortality, and that great account, which all flesh must give at the last day, to the God of all spirits.

This work is comprised in eight books, of which, the four first were finished at Boscomb, and printed in 1594. The fifth was composed at Bishop's-Bourne, and published separately in 1597. The three last books were also written at this latter place, but not published till after his death.

The plan of the work, I shall give in the author's own words; and which is stated in his preface, addressed to the Puritans.

Mine intent * * in these several books of discourse, [is,] to make it appear unto you; that for the

ecclesiastical laws of this land, we are led by great reason to observe them, and ye by no necessity bound to impugn them. It is no part of my secret meaning, to draw you hereby into hatred, or to set upon the face of this cause any fairer gloss than the naked truth doth afford; but my whole endeavour is to resolve the conscience, and to shew, as near as I can, what in this controversy the heart is to think, if it will follow the light of sound and sincere judgment, without either cloud of prejudice, or mist of passionate affection. Wherefore, seeing that laws and ordinances in particular, whether such as *we* observe, or such as *yourselves* would have established; when the mind doth sift and examine them, it must needs have often recourse to a number of doubts and questions, about the nature, kinds, and qualities of laws in general, whereof, unless it be thoroughly informed, there will be no certainty to stay our persuasion upon: I have for that cause set down, in the first place, an introduction on both sides needful to be considered; declaring therein what law is, how many different kinds of laws there are, and what force they are of, according unto each kind. This done, because ye suppose the laws, for which we strive, are found in Scripture; but those not against which ye strive; and upon this surmise, are drawn to hold it, as the very main pillar, "that Scripture ought to be the only rule of all our actions," and consequent-

ly, that the church orders which we observe, being not commanded in Scripture, are offensive and displeasant unto God; I have spent the second book in sifting of this point, which standeth with you for the first and chiefest principle whereon ye build. Whereunto, the next in degree is, that as God will have always a church upon earth, while the world doth continue, and that church stand in need of government; of which government, it behoveth himself to be both the author and teacher: so it cannot stand with duty, that man should ever presume in any wise to change and alter the same; and therefore, " that in Scripture there must of necessity be found some particular form of ecclesiastical polity, the laws whereof admit not any kind of alteration." The first three books being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the general grounds and foundations of your cause, unto your general accusations against us, as having in the orders of our church (for so you pretend) " corrupted the right form of church polity with manifold popish rites and ceremonies, which certain reformed churches have banished from amongst them, and have thereby given us such example as (you think) we ought to follow." This your assertion hath herein drawn us to make search, whether these be just exceptions against the customs of our church, when ye plead that they are the same which the church of Rome

[illegible] not the same which some [illegible] have devised. Of those [illegible] remain, and are bestowed about [illegible] that cause which lieth in contro- [illegible] examineth the causes by you al- [illegible] before the public duties of the Christian [illegible] our prayers, our sacraments, and the [illegible] should not be ordered in such sort, as with us [illegible] are; nor that power, whereby the persons of [illegible] are consecrated unto the ministry, be disposed [illegible] in such manner as the laws of the church do allow. The second and third are concerning the power of jurisdiction; the one, whether laymen, such as your governing elders are, ought in all congregations for ever, to be invested with that power? The other, whether bishops may have that power over other pastors, and therewithal, that honour which with us they have? And because, besides the power of order, which all consecrated persons have, and the power of jurisdiction, which neither they all, nor they only have, there is a third power, a power of ecclesiastical dominion, communicable, as we think, unto persons not ecclesiastical, and most fit to be restrained unto the prince, our sovereign commander over the whole body politic. The eighth book we have allotted unto this question, and have sifted therein your objections against those pre-eminences royal which thereunto appertain. Thus have

I laid before you the brief of these my travels, and presented under your view, the limbs of that cause litigious between us, the whole intire body whereof, being thus compact, it shall be no troublesome thing for any man to find each particular controversy's resting place, and the coherence it hath with those things, either on which it dependeth, or which depend on it.

I shall now select a few passages from the body of this celebrated work; and endeavour, in these selections, to exhibit the leading principles on which the author founds his arguments.

The law of reason doth somewhat direct men, how to honor God as their Creator; but how to glorify God in such sort as is required, to the end he may be an everlasting Saviour; this we are taught by divine law, which law both ascertaineth the truth, and supplieth unto us the want of that other law. So that in moral actions, divine law helpeth exceedingly the law of reason to guide man's life; but, in supernatural, it alone guideth. Proceed we further; let us place man in some public society with others, whether civil or spiritual; and

in this case, there is no remedy, but we must add yet a further law. For although, even here likewise, the laws of nature and reason be of necessary use; yet somewhat over and besides them is necessary, namely, human and positive law, together with that law which is of commerce between grand societies, the law of nations, and of nations christian. For which cause, the law of God hath likewise said, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." The public power of all societies, is above every soul contained in the same societies. And the principal use of that power is, to give laws unto all that are under it; which laws, in such case, we must obey, unless there be reason shewed, which may necessarily inforce, that the law of reason, or of God, doth enjoin the contrary: because, except our own private and but probable resolutions be by the law of public determinations over-ruled, we take away all possibility of social life in the world. A plainer example whereof than ourselves, we cannot have. How cometh it to pass, that we are, at this present day, so rent with mutual contentions, and that the church is so much troubled about the polity of the church? No doubt, if men had been willing to learn, how many laws their actions in this life are subject unto, and what the true force of each law is, all these controversies might have died, the very day they were first brought forth. It is both commonly

said and truly, that the best men otherwise are not always the best in regard of society. The reason whereof is, for that the law of men's actions is one, if they be respected only as men; and another, when they are considered as parts of a politic body. Many men there are, than whom nothing is more commendable when they are singled: and yet in society with others, none less fit to answer the duties which are looked for at their hands. Yea, I am persuaded, that of them, with whom in this cause we strive, there are whose betters among men would be hardly found, if they did not live amongst men, but in some wilderness by themselves. The cause of which their disposition, so unframeable unto societies in which they live, is, for that they discern not aright, what place and force these several kinds of laws ought to have in all their actions. Is there question either concerning the regiment of the church in general, or about conformity between one church and another, or of ceremonies, offices, powers, jurisdictions in our own church? Of all these things they judge by that rule, which they frame to themselves with some show of probability; and what seemeth in that sort convenient, the same they think themselves bound to practise, the same by all means they labour mightily to uphold; whatsoever any law of man to the contrary hath determined, they weigh it not. Thus by following the law of

private reason, where the law of public should take place, they breed disturbance. * * * * * *

And thus we see, how even one and the self-same thing is, under divers considerations, conveyed through many laws; and that to measure by any one kind of law all the actions of men, were to confound the admirable order wherein God hath disposed all laws, each, as in nature, so in degree, distinct from other.

In answer to the main position of the Puritans, that "the Scripture is our only guide in all the affairs and transactions of men; amidst a multitude of other arguments, Hooker urges the following.

An earnest desire to draw all things unto the determination of bare and naked Scripture, hath caused here much pains to be taken in abating the estimation and credit of man, which if we labour to maintain as far as truth and reason will bear, let not any think that we travail about a matter not greatly needful. For the scope of all their pleading against men's authority, is to overthrow such orders, laws, and constitutions in the church, as depending thereupon, if they should therefore be taken away, would, peradventure, leave neither face nor memory of

church to continue long in the world, the world especially being such as now it is. That which they have in this case spoken, I would for brevity sake let pass, but that the drift of their speech being so dangerous, their words are not to be neglected. Wherefore, to say that simply an argument taken from man's authority, doth hold no way, neither affirmatively nor negatively, is hard. By a man's authority we here understand the force which his word hath for the assurance of another's mind that buildeth upon it. * * * The strength of man's authority is affirmatively such, that the weightiest affairs in the world depend thereon. * * * And if it be admitted, that in matter of fact, there is some credit to be given to the testimony of man, but not in matter of opinion and judgment, we see the contrary both acknowledged and universally practised also thoughout the world. * * In matter of state, the weight, many times, of some one man's authority, is thought reason sufficient even to sway over whole nations. And this is not only with the simple sort; but the learneder and wiser we are, the more such arguments, in some cases, prevail with us. The reason why the simple sort are moved with authority, is the conscience of their own ignorance; whereby it cometh to pass, that having learned men in admiration, they rather fear to dislike them, than know wherefore they should allow and follow

their judgments. Contrariwise, with them that are skilful, authority is much more strong and forcible; because they only are able to discern how just cause there is, why to some men's authority, so much should be attributed. For which cause the name of Hippocrates, no doubt, were more effectual to persuade even such men as Galen himself, than to move a silly empirick. * * Even negatively, an argument from human authority may be strong; as namely thus: the Chronicles of England mention no more than only six kings bearing the name of Edward, since the time of the last conquest; therefore it cannot be there should be more. * * Infinite cases there are, * * wherein the testimony of man will stand as a ground of infallible assurance. That there is a city of Rome, that Pius Quintus and Gregory XIII, and others, have been popes of Rome, I suppose we are certainly enough persuaded. The ground of our persuasion, who never saw the place, nor persons before named, can be nothing but man's testimony. Will any man here, notwithstanding, alledge those mentioned human infirmities, as reasons why these things should be mistrusted or doubted of? yea, that which is more, utterly to infringe the force and strength of man's testimony, were to shake the very fortress of God's truth. For whatsoever we believe concerning salvation by Christ, although the Scripture be therein

the ground of our belief; yet the authority of man is, if we mark it, the key which openeth the door of entrance into the knowledge of the Scripture. The Scripture doth not teach us the things that are of God, unless we did credit men who have taught us that the words of Scripture do signify those things.

* * * * * * * *

Let them with whom we have hitherto disputed consider well, how it can stand with reason, to make the bare mandate of Sacred Scripture the only rule of all good and evil in the actions of mortal men. The testimonies of God are true, the testimonies of God are perfect, the testimonies of God are all-sufficient unto that end for which they were given. * * What the Scripture proposeth, the same in all points it doth perform. * * The scope and purpose of God in delivering the Holy Scripture, such as to take more largely than behoveth, they on the contrary side racking and stretching it further than by him was meant, are drawn into sundry as great inconveniences. These pretending the Scriptures perfection, infer thereupon, that in Scripture all things lawful to be done must needs be contained. * * We may even as well conclude so of every sentence, as of the whole sum and body thereof, unless we first of all prove, that it was the drift, scope, and purpose of Almighty God, in Holy Scripture, to comprise all things which man may prac-

tise. But admit this, and mark I beseech you what would follow. God, in delivering Scripture to his church, should clean have abrogated amongst them the law of nature, which is an infallible knowledge imprinted in all the minds of men, whereby both general principles for directing of human actions are comprehended, and conclusions derived from them; upon which conclusions groweth, in particularity, the choice of good and evil in the daily affairs of this life. Admit this, and what shall the Scripture be but a snare and a torment to weak consciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, scrupulosities, doubts insoluble, and extreme despairs? * * For, in every action of common life, to find out some sentence clearly and infallibly setting before our eyes what we ought to do, (seem we in Scripture never so expert) would trouble us more than we are aware. In weak and tender minds we little know what misery this strict opinion would breed, besides the stops it would make in the whole course of all men's lives and actions, make all things sin, which we do by direction of nature's light, and by the rule of common discretion, without thinking at all upon Scripture, &c. &c. * * Whatsoever is spoken of God, or things appertaining to God, otherwise than as the truth is, though it seem an honour, it is an injury. And as incredible praises given unto men, do often abate and impair the credit of their deserved commendation; so

we must likewise take great heed, lest in attributing unto Scripture more than it can have, the incredibility of that, do cause even those things which indeed it hath most abundantly, to be less reverendly esteemed. I therefore leave it to themselves to consider, whether they have in this first point overshot themselves, or not; which, God doth know, is quickly done, even when our meaning is most sincere, as I am verily persuaded, theirs in this case was.

I shall give one more extract, taken from the third book, in which he combats another fundamental position of the Puritans; "that in Scripture there must be of necessity contained a form of church polity, the laws whereof may in no wise be altered."

The last refuge in maintaining this position, is thus to construe it: *Nothing ought to be established in the church, but that which is commanded in the word of God;* that is to say, all church orders must be *grounded* upon the word of God, in such sort grounded upon the word, not, that being found out by some star, or light of reason, or learning, or other help,

they may be received, so they be not against the word of God, but according at leastwise unto the general rules of Scripture, they must be made. Which is in effect as much as to say, "We know not what to say well in defence of this position: and therefore least we should say it is false, there is no remedy but to say, that in some sense or other it may be true, if we could tell how." First, that Scholy had need of a very favourable reader, and a tractable, that should think it plain construction, when to be *commanded in the word* and *grounded upon the word*, are made all one. If when a man may live in the state of matrimony, seeking that good thereby which nature principally desireth, he make rather choice of a contrary life, in regard to St. Paul's judgment, that which he doth is manifestly *grounded* upon the word of God, yet not *commanded* in his word, because without breach of any commandment, he may do otherwise. Secondly, whereas no man, in justice and reason, can be reproved for those actions which are framed according unto that known will of God, whereby they are to be judged, and the will of God which we are to judge our actions by, no sound divine in the world ever denied, to be in part made manifest even by the light of nature, and not by Scripture alone: if the church being directed by the former of these two (which God hath given, who gave the other, that man might in different sort

be guided by them both) if the church, I say, do approve and establish that which thereby it judgeth meet, and findeth not repugnant to any word or syllable of Holy Scripture; who shall warrant our presumptuous boldness, controuling herein the church of Christ? But so it is, the name of the light of nature is made hateful with men; the star of reason and learning, and all other such like helps, beginneth no otherwise to be thought of, than if it were an unlucky comet; or as if God had so accursed it, that it should never shine or give light in things concerning our duty any way towards him, but be esteemed as that star in the revelation, called *Wormwood*; which being fallen from Heaven, maketh rivers and waters in which it falleth, so bitter, that men tasting them die thereof. A number there are, who think they cannot admire as they ought, the power and authority of the word of God, if in things divine, they should attribute any force to man's reason. For which cause they never use reason so willingly as to disgrace reason. Their usual and common discourses are unto this effect. First, "the natural man perceiveth not the things of the spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." &c. &c. By these and the like disputes, an opinion hath spread itself very far in the world; as if the way to be ripe in faith, were to be raw in

wit and judgment; as if reason were an enemy unto religion, childish simplicity the mother of ghostly and divine wisdom. * * * *

To our purpose it is sufficient, that whosoever doth serve, honour, and obey God, whosoever believeth in him, that man would no more do this than innocents and infants do but for the light of natural reason that shineth in him, and maketh him apt to apprehend those things of God, which being by grace discovered, are effectual to persuade reasonable minds, and none other, that honour, obedience, and credit, belong aright unto God. No man cometh unto God to offer him sacrifice, to pour out supplications and prayers before him, or to do him any service, which doth not first believe him both to be, and to be a rewarder of them who in such sort seek unto him. Let men be taught this, either by revelation from Heaven, or by instruction upon earth; by labour, study, and meditation, or by the only secret inspiration of the Holy Ghost; whatsoever the mean be they know it by, if the knowledge thereof were possible without discourse of natural reason, why should none be found capable thereof but only men; nor men till such time as they come unto ripe and full ability to work by reasonable understanding? The whole drift of the Scripture of God, what is it, but only to teach theology? Theology, what is it, but the science of things divine?

What science can be attained unto, without the help of natural discourse and reason? *Judge* you of that which I speak, saith the apostle. In vain it were to speak any thing of God, but that by reason, men are able somewhat to judge of that they hear, and by discourse to discern how consonant it is to truth. Scripture, indeed, teacheth things above nature, things which our reason by itself could not reach unto. Yet those also we believe, knowing by reason, that the Scripture is the word of God. * * The thing we have handled according to the question moved about it; which question is, whether the light of reason be so pernicious, that in devising laws for the church, men ought not by it to search what may be fit and convenient? For this cause, therefore, we have endeavoured to make it appear, how in the nature of reason itself, there is no impediment; but that the self-same spirit which revealeth the things that God hath set down in his law, may also be thought to aid and direct men in finding out by the light of reason, what laws are expedient to be made for the guiding of his church, over and besides them that are in Scripture. * * *

The Gospel, as they say, containeth not only doctrine instructing men how they should believe, but also precepts concerning the regiment of the church. Discipline therefore is a part of the Gospel, and God being the author of the whole Gospel, as well of dis-

cipline as of doctrine, it cannot be but that both of them have a common cause. So that as we are to believe for ever the articles of evangelical doctrine, so the precepts of discipline we are in like sort bound for ever to observe. Touching points of doctrine, * * they have been, since the first hour that there was a church in the world, and till the last they must be believed; but as for matters of regiment, they are for the most part of another nature. * * * Yea, it is not denied, I am sure, by themselves, that certain things in discipline are of that nature, as they may be varied by times, places, persons, and other the like circumstances. Whereupon I demand, are those changeable points of discipline commanded in the word of God, or no? If they be not commanded, and yet may be received in the church, how can their former position stand, condemning all things in the church, which in the word are not commanded? If they be commanded, and yet may suffer change, how can this latter stand, affirming all things immutable which are commanded of God? * * * * As for those marvellous discourses, whereby they adventure to argue, that God must needs have done the thing, which they imagine was to be done, I must confess, I have often wondered at their exceeding boldness herein. When the question is, whether God have delivered in Scripture, as they affirm he hath, a complete, particular,

immutable form of church polity; why take they that other, both presumptuous and superfluous labour, to prove he should have done it; there being no way in this case to prove the deed of God, saving only by producing that evidence wherein he hath done it? But if there be no such thing apparent upon record, they do as if one should demand a legacy by force and virtue of some written testament, wherein there being no such thing specified, he pleadeth, that there it must needs be, and bringeth arguments from the love or good will which always the testator bore him, imagining that these or the like proofs will convict a testament to have that in it, which other men can no where by reading find.

The Ecclesiastical Polity contains the most profound, and the ablest defence of ecclesiastical establishments, which has ever appeared, and displays powers of reasoning of the first order, joined with an extent of learning rarely attained. With his own party, it gained the author an unbounded reputation, both at home and abroad; and even with his antagonists, the Puritans, his profound learning, his talents, and unexampled candour, were objects of respect and admiration. Though it would

be going too far to say that Hooker settled the controversy between the Puritans and the Church of England, it may be affirmed with truth, that no champion of equal ability was found to enter the lists in defence of the opposite cause. The style of this work, too, possesses some of the highest characteristics. It is perspicuous, forcible, and manly; and evidently flows from the pure source of an ingenuous and upright mind.

I consider the Ecclesiastical Polity as by far the most important work which had appeared prior to Lord Bacon. For extent and variety of learning, it is without a rival. There is no single book, which resulted from the reformation, to which the following assertion of M. Villers* is so strictly applicable. After taking a view of the progress of knowledge consequent upon the reformation, he remarks, "Whoever wishes to be instructed in history, in classical literature, and philosophy, can chuse nothing better than a course of protestant theology."

Accordingly, the work of Hooker is not to be regarded simply as a theological treatise,

* Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation, by Luther, &c.

on a subject about which men's minds are pretty well settled in modern times. The author, in his zeal to establish his main point, and from his anxiety to distinguish what is *human* from what is *divine*, is led to examine into the principles of moral duty, and the laws of social union; and hence we find him frequently referred to, by subsequent writers, as authority for moral and political principles. No wonder, therefore, that Pope Clement VIII. after the first book only had been read to him, should exclaim—"There is no learning that this man has not searched into." As a composition too, it presents the first example in the language, of strict methodical arrangement, and of clear logical reasoning.

James I.

JAMES I.

MANY—indeed most of the literary ornaments of Elizabeth's reign, florished under James also; but the poets, when they fell off, left no worthy successors. From the commencement of this reign, Johnson dates the rise of what he calls (with dubious propriety) the metaphysical poets, who, abandoning all simplicity of language—the genuine expression of nature and of passion, sought only laboured and meretricious ornaments of diction —unnatural conceits, antitheses, and tasteless jingle of words.

The prose style was disgraced by equal absurdities. An abominable fashion began of writing half Latin, half English; and our books were as much interlarded with Latin as Persic books are with Arabic. Of this wretched style, bishop Andrews, and Burton, in his

Anatomy of Melancholy, are remarkable examples; particularly the former. Even the great Bacon, the soundness of whose judgment would naturally have rejected all uncouth ornaments, was so far influenced by the prevalent taste, as to admit too frequently the heterogeneous mixture. This is particularly observable when he addresses any piece to the pedant James, in compliment to whom much of this barbarous taste might probably have been adopted. But a more general cause is, that the revival of letters was yet too recent for men to divest themselves of that silly and boyish vanity, which seeks all opportunities of displaying the learning it has acquired. This pedantic style is ridiculed by Shakespeare in his Holofernes (Love's Labour Lost); and sir Philip Sidney has another such a pedagogue in a masque, at the end of his works.

The increase of polemical divinity, too, lent its aid to promote this corruption of language. The subjects of contest, which chiefly interested the theological champions, were the calvinistic ones of election, predestination, &c. &c. These fell in exactly with the ruling passion of the monarch, who shone more con-

spicuously as a divine than as a king. But such discussions had one consequence not quite so well suited to his taste. The preachers, from their frequent examination of theological topics, had acquired an habitually prying and busy spirit; and they could not rest, till they had examined into the grounds of the unconscious prerogative claimed by the sovereign. This transgression of the boundaries of their own province occasioned, however, in August, 1622, the "Directions, by royal authority, concerning Preachers and Preaching;" and which were especially levelled at the Puritans and lecturers, and excited great clamour.

Many corruptions also probably crept in by means of the catholic books so industriously disseminated. The Englishmen who wrote them, having lived abroad and spoken other languages, seem frequently to have forgotten their native idioms: for the strange phrases which occasionally occur are very curious, and sometimes very ludicrous.

In addition to those imperfections of style which arose from exotic admixtures—the writers of this period often neglected to observe the rules of grammar; and paid no attention whatever to elegance and to harmony of pe-

riod. Though sound is insignificant when compared to sense; yet where they can be rendered compatible, it were idle fastidiousness to disdain the help of the former in augmenting general effect. The language of conversation, and the epistolary and familiar style, were in a far better taste than the formal compositions of authors.

Generally speaking, the best studies of this reign were those of classical literature, which the learning and example of James, no doubt, contributed greatly to render fashionable. Casaubon, the eminent scholar, was invited from France, and granted a pension of 300l. a year, besides church preferments. Antonio de Dominis, archbishop of Spalatro also distinguished for his classical learning, resided for some time in this country; but as his remuneration was incommensurate with his ambition, he withdrew again to the continent.

If we except Sidney's Arcadia, it may be affirmed that prose allegory began in this reign; and I believe that "The Isle of Man," by Barnard, is one of the first specimens. The book was lately reprinted at Bristol. John Bunyan carried this sort of writing to the very point

of perfection. Long after, bishop Patrick wrote, A Pilgrim, but remarkable only for dullness; and the catholics have, A Pilgrim to Loretto, which is also bad, though it has beautiful passages of description. With the exception of these allegories, there is very little original prose fictitious narrative before the time of Charles II.

Translations were uncommonly numerous. I believe, that there was not a single good book published, at this period, in any part of Europe, which was not speedily made English. In general, these versions were well done; with respect to the romances, very badly, as before noticed.

Voyagers and travellers were likewise abundant, and assisted to augment our literary treasures.

But the brightest star in this galaxy of worthies, was the lord Verulam. His intellectual labours did more to enlighten his fellow men, and to fix them in a state of general improvement, than those of all others combined. Succeeding philosophers have had little else to do than to walk in his steps; or at least, to proceed towards those various objects

of knowledge to which he pointed out the way. Mankind now became fixed in their views as to literature and life; and from this period their progression in knowledge and refinement has been rapid and uninterrupted.

BACON.

FRANCIS BACON, viscount St. Albans, and high chancellor of England, son of sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal, was born in London, 1560-1, at York-House in the Strand. At the early age of thirteen years, or in 1573, he entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, under the tuition of Dr. John Whitgift, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Soon after this period, on account of the extraordinary maturity of his understanding, his father resolved that he should travel; and he accordingly sent him to France under the inspection of sir Amias Powlett, the queen's ambasador at Paris.

His father dying suddenly, he was unexpectedly left with a very incompetent fortune, and on his return from France, he entered at Gray's Inn, that by the study of the law, he

might supply the deficiency. In 1588, he became reader at Gray's Inn, and from his reputation in this office, he was appointed by the queen, her counsel learned in the law extraordinary. In 1600, he was chosen double reader of Gray's Inn. Towards the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, he began to distinguish himself as a speaker in the House of Commons, where, by his weight of thought and power of comprehensive survey, he always astonished and often prevailed.

After the death of Elizabeth, he was introduced to her successor, James I, and in 1603, the honour of knighthood was conferred upon him by that prince. The year following, he was constituted by patent one of his majesty's council learned in the law, with a fee of forty pounds a year. The same day, his majesty granted him, by another patent under the great seal, a pension of sixty pounds a year, for special services received from his brother Anthony Bacon, and himself.

He was married in 1607, to Alice, daughter of Benedict Barnham, Esq. alderman of London, by whom he had a considerable fortune, but no issue. The same year he was appointed king's solicitor. About four years after,

he obtained the office of judge of the marshall's court, jointly with sir Thomas Vavasor; as also the office of the court of star-chamber, a place of great value. In 1613, he succeeded sir Henry Hobart as attorney general; and about three years after, was sworn of the privy council. On the resignation of the chancellor, lord viscount Brackley, 1616-17, the king presented the great seal to Bacon, when in the 57th year of his age, with the title of lord keeper. He obtained, in 1618, the title of lord high chancellor of England; and about six months after, in the same year, was created baron of Verulam. In the year 1621, the title of viscount St. Albans, was conferred upon him, to which a small pension was annexed out of the customs. His disgrace followed shortly after; by which he was deprived of his high office, for bribery and corruption, amersed in a fine of 40,000l. sent prisoner to the Tower, and declared incapable of any office or employment in the state. After a short confinement, however, he was released; and on the 12th of October, of the same year, the king signed a warrant for his pardon, his parliamentary sentence excepted. Not long before the decease of James I. in 1625,

he obtained a full pardon. He died on the 9th of April, 1626.

I now proceed to a brief account of the works of this great man, which are beyond all comparison the most important in our national literature.

1. During his stay in France, he composed a succinct "View of the State of Europe," at that time, which his biographer (Mallet) observes, was written when he was only nineteen; and it is very remarkable, that in this juvenile production, the same spirit of philosophy is discoverable which pervades his subsequent writings.

2. In 1596, he finished his "Maxims of the Law," which work, however, was not published till after his death, and is said to have suffered materially from that cause.

3. The next year he published the first part of his "Essays or Councils, Civil and Moral."

4. In 1598, he wrote his "History of the Alienation Office," though it was not published till many years after his death; a work which displays an extensive knowledge of our history and antiquities, and clearly evinces his profound skill in his profession.

5. He has also left a memorial of the reign

of Elizabeth. This seems to have been composed in the life time of that princess; though after her decease, it was newly methodized, revised, corrected, and translated into Latin. At the request of the author it was transmitted in MS. to M. de Thou, while engaged in the composition of his Universal History; and that historian has acknowledged the use he has made of it. This work, however, was not printed till a long while after his death; and discovers the extent of his learning, as well as the depth of his policy.

6. In 1605, he published his work entitled, "The Proficience and Advancement of Learning," which forms the first part of his great work, which he afterwards published under the title of *Instauratio Scientiarum.* The "Advancement of Learning" was written in English, and divided into two books. The first is chiefly employed in opposing certain objections to learning, and in pointing out the many impediments to its progress. In the second book, he proceeds to his distribution of knowledge, which is into three parts. He observes—"The parts of human learning, have reference to the three parts of man's understanding, which is the seat of learning: history to his memory, poesy to his imagination,

and philosophy to his reason. He gives also a genealogical table of knowledge, agreeably to this distribution. I shall select a few extracts from each book, which will be sufficient to exhibit his general views of knowledge of all sorts.

Book I.

There be chiefly three vanities in studies, whereby learning hath been most traduced. For those things we do esteem vain which are either false, or frivolous, those which have either no truth, or no use: and those persons we esteem vain, which are either credulous or curious; and curiosity is either in matter or words: so that in reason, as well as in experience, there fall out to be these three distempers, as I may term them, of learning: the first, fantastical learning; the second, contentious learning; and the last, delicate learning; vain imaginations, vain altercations, and vain affectations; and with the last I will begin.

Martin Luther, conducted no doubt by an higher providence, but in discourse of reason, finding what a province he had undertaken against the bishop of Rome, and the degenerate traditions of the church; and finding his own solitude, being no ways aided by the opinions of his own time, was enforced to awake all antiquity, and to call former times to his succour,

to make a party against the present time. So that the ancient authors, both in divinity and in humanity, which had long time slept in libraries, began generally to be read and revolved. This by consequence did draw on a necessity of a more exquisite travel in the languages original wherein those authors did write, for the better advantage of pressing and applying their words. And thereof grew again a delight in their manner of style and phrase, and an admiration of that kind of writing; which was much furthered and precipitated by the enmity and opposition, that the propounders of those primitive, but seeming new opinions, had against the schoolmen, who were generally of the contrary part, and whose writings were altogether in a different style and form, taking liberty to coin and frame new terms of art to express their own sense, and to avoid circuit of speech, without regard to the pureness, pleasantness, and as I may call it, lawfulness, of the phrase, or word. And again, because the great labour then was with the people, of whom the Pharisees were wont to say, *Execrabilis ista turba quæ non novit legem;* for the winning and persuading of them, there grew of necessity in chief price and request, eloquence and variety of discourse as the fittest and forciblest access into the capacity of the vulgar sort: so that these four causes concurring, the admiration of ancient authors, the hate of the

schoolmen, the exact study of languages, and the efficacy of preaching, did bring in an affected study of eloquence, and *copia* of speech, which then began to flourish. This grew speedily into an excess; for men began to hunt more after words than matter; and more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their works with tropes and figures, than after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgment. Then grew the flowing and watery vein of Osorius, the Portugal bishop, to be in price. Then did Sturmius spend such infinite and curious pains upon Cicero the orator, and Hermogenes the rhetorician, besides his own books of periods, and imitation, and the like. Then did Car of Cambridge, and Ascham, with their lectures and writings, almost deify Cicero and Demosthenes, and allure all young men that were studious, unto that delicate and polished kind of learning. Then did Erasmus take occasion to make the scoffing echo; *Decem annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone:* and the echo answered in Greek, Ὄνε, *Asine.* Then grew the learning of the schoolmen to be utterly despised as barbarous. In sum, the whole inclination and bent of those times was rather towards *copia* than weight.

Here therefore is the first distemper of learning,

when men study words and not matter: whereof, though I have represented an example of late times, yet it hath been, and will be, *secundum majus et minus* in all time. And how is it possible but this should have an operation to discredit learning, even with vulgar capacities, when they see learned men's works like the first letter of a patent or limned book; which, though it hath large flourishes, yet it is but a letter? It seems to me that Pygmalion's frenzy is a good emblem or portraiture of this vanity; for words are but the images of matter, and except they have life of reason and invention, to fall in love with them is all one as to fall in love with a picture.

Among various other errors which he points out as impediments to the progress of learning, he says:

But the greatest error of all the rest, is the mistaking or misplacing of the last or farthest end of knowledge: for men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity, and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction;

and most times for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of men: as if there were sought in knowledge a couch, whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terras, for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state, for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention; or a shop for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate. But this is that which will indeed dignify and exalt knowledge, if contemplation and action may be more nearly and straitly conjoined and united together than they have been; a conjunction like unto that of the two highest planets, Saturn, the planet of rest and contemplation, and Jupiter, the planet of civil society and action: howbeit, I do not mean, when I speak of use and action, that end before mentioned of the applying of knowledge to lucre and profession; for I am not ignorant how much that diverteth and interrupteth the prosecution and advancement of knowledge, like unto the golden ball thrown before Atalanta, which, while she goeth aside and stoopeth to take up, the race is hindered;

Declinant cursus, aurumque volubile tollit.

Neither is my meaning, as was spoken of Socrates,

to call philosophy down from heaven to converse upon earth; that is, to leave natural philosophy aside, and to apply knowledge only to manners and policy. But as both heaven and earth do conspire and contribute to the use and benefit of man; so the end ought to be, from both philosophies to separate and reject vain speculations, and whatsoever is empty and void, and to preserve and augment whatsoever is solid and fruitful: that knowledge may not be, as a courtesan, for pleasure and vanity only, or as a bond-woman, to acquire and gain to her master's use; but as a spouse, for generation, fruit, and comfort.

Speaking of the advantages of learning, he afterwards proceeds:

It is an assured truth, which is contained in the verses;

Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.

It taketh away the wildness, and barbarism, and fierceness of men's minds: but indeed the accent had need be upon *fideliter:* for a little superficial learning doth rather work a contrary effect. It taketh away all levity, temerity, and insolency, by copious

suggestion of all doubts and difficulties, and acquainting the mind to balance reasons on both sides, and to turn back the first offers and conceits of the kind, and to accept of nothing but examined and tried. It taketh away vain admiration of any thing, which is the root of all weakness: for all things are admired, either because they are new, or because they are great. For novelty, no man wadeth in learning or contemplation throughly, but will find that printed in his heart. *Nil novi super terram.* Neither can any man marvel at the play of puppets, that goeth behind the curtain, and adviseth well of the motion. And for magnitude, as Alexander the Great, after that he was used to great armies, and the great conquests of the spacious provinces in Asia, when he received letters out of Greece, of some fights and services there, which were commonly for a passage, or a fort, or some walled town at the most, he said, "It seemed to him, that he was advertised of the battle of the frogs and the mice, that the old tales went of." So certainly, if a man meditate upon the universal frame of nature, the earth with men upon it, the divineness of souls excepted, will not seem much other than an ant-hill, where some ants carry corn, and some carry their young, and some go empty, and all to and fro a little heap of dust. It taketh away or mitigateth fear of death, or adverse fortune; which is one of the greatest impediments of virtue,

and imperfections of manners. For if a man's mind be deeply seasoned with the consideration of the mortality and corruptible nature of things, he will easily concur with Epictetus, who went forth one day, and saw a woman weeping for her pitcher of earth that was broken; and went forth the next day, and saw a woman weeping for her son that was dead; and thereupon said, *Heri vidi fragilem frangi, hodie vidi mortalem mori.* And therefore Virgil did excellently and profoundly couple the knowledge of causes, and the conquest of all fears together, as *concomitantia:*

Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Quique metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

It were too long to go over the particular remedies which learning doth minister to all the diseases of the mind, sometimes purging the ill humours, sometimes opening the obstructions, sometimes helping the digestion, sometimes increasing appetite, sometimes healing the wounds and exulcerations thereof, and the like; and therefore I will conclude with that which hath *rationem totius*, which is, that it disposeth the constitution of the mind not to be fixed or settled in the defects thereof, but still to be capable and susceptible of reformation. For the unlearned man knows not what it is to descend into himself, or to call himself to account; nor the pleasure of that *suavissima vita, indies sentire se fieri meliorem.*

The good parts he hath, he will learn to shew to the full, and use them dexterously, but not much to increase them: the faults he hath, he will learn how to hide and colour them, but not much to amend them: like an ill mower, that mows on still and never whets his scythe. Whereas with the learned man it fares otherwise, that he doth ever intermix the correction and amendment of his mind with the use and employment thereof. Nay, farther, in general and in sum, certain it is, that *veritas* and *bonitas* differ but as the seal and the print: for truth prints goodness; and they be the clouds of error which descend in the storms of passions and perturbations.

From general virtue let us pass on to matter of power and commandment, and consider whether in right reason there be any comparable with that wherewith knowledge investeth and crowneth man's nature. We see the dignity of the commandment is according to the dignity of commanded: to have commandment over beasts, as herdmen have, is a thing contemptible; to have commandment over children, as schoolmasters have, is a matter of small honour; to have commandment over galley-slaves, is a disparagement rather than an honour. Neither is the commandment of tyrants much better over people which have put off the generosity of their minds: and therefore it was ever holden, that honours in free monarchies and commonwealths had a sweetness

more than in tyrannies, because the commandment extendeth more over the wills of men, and not only over their deeds and services. And therefore, when Virgil putteth himself forth to attribute to Augustus Cæsar the best of human honours, he doth it in these words:

victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura viamque affectat Olympo.

But yet the commandment of knowledge is higher than the commandment over the will; for it is a commandment over the reason, belief, and understanding of man, which is the highest part of the mind, and giveth law to the will itself: for there is no power on earth which setteth up a throne, or chair of state, in the spirits and souls of men, and in their cogitations, imaginations, opinions, and beliefs, but knowledge and learning.

In the beginning of the second part, he treats of public institutions relative to the advancement of learning; on which subject he lays down this fundamental position:

Let this ground (says he) be laid, that all works are overcome by amplitude of reward, by soundness

of direction, and by the conjunction of labours. The first multiplieth endeavour, the second preventeth error, and the third supplieth the frailty of man; but the principal of these is direction; for *claudus in via antevertit cursorem extra viam;* and Solomon excellently setteth it down, "If iron be not sharp, it requireth more strength; but wisdom is that which prevaileth:" signifying, that the invention or election of the mean is more effectual than any inforcement or accumulation of endeavours. This I am induced to speak, for that, not derogating from the noble intention of any that have been deservers towards the state of learning, I do observe nevertheless that their works and acts are rather works of magnificence and memory, than of progression and proficience, and tend rather to augment the mass of learning, in the multitude of learned men, than to rectify or raise the sciences themselves.

* * * * * *

The last defect which I will note is, that there hath not been any public designation of writers or inquirers concerning such parts of knowledge, as may appear not to have been already sufficiently laboured or undertaken: unto which point it is an inducement to enter into a view and examination what parts of learning have been prosecuted, and what omitted; for the opinion of plenty is amongst the causes of want, and the great quantity of books

maketh a shew, rather of superfluity than lack; which surcharge, nevertheless, is not to be remedied by making no more books, but by making more good books, which, as the serpent of Moses, might devour the serpents of the enchanters.

The two books of the Advancement of Learning he afterwards enlarged; and divided the whole into eight books, writing now in the Latin language. This book being in requisition in foreign countries, he caused the part also, which he had originally written in English, to be translated into Latin, by Mr. Herbert and others, carefully revising the whole himself, so as to make it in effect his own work. The book, thus prepared, was translated into English by Dr. Gilbert Watts of Oxford, but in such a manner, that much of the genius and spirit of Lord Bacon had evaporated. Of the Latin editions, the most correct is said to be that in folio, printed at London, 1623.

7. Not long after the time of his appointment to the office of solicitor, or about the year 1607-8, he seems to have digested the

plan of the second part of his great work, containing the ground-work of his *Novum Organum,* an essential part of the Instauration, and communicated his MS. under the title of "*Cogitata et Visa,*" to several of his learned friends, soliciting a critical examination. Among these friends are particularly mentioned bishop Andrews, and sir Thomas Bodley, the last of whom wrote a copious reply, which has been printed, together with the piece itself, among the Latin works of Bacon.

8. There is also a small treatise in English, under the Latin title of *Filum Labyrinthi; sive formula inquisitionis ad filios. Pars prima.* This was obviously the first sketch of the *Cogitata et Visa.* The following specimen, taken from the beginning, will give the reader an idea of the views with which it was written.

Francis Bacon thought in this manner. The knowledge of which the world is now possessed, especially that of nature, extendeth not to magnitude and certainty of works. The physician pronounces many diseases incurable, and faileth oft in the rest. The alchemists wax old, and die in hopes. The magicians perform nothing that is permanent and profitable. The mechanics take small lights from

natural philosophy, and do but spin out their own little threads. Chance sometimes discovereth inventions; but that worketh not in years, but ages. So he saw well, that the inventions known are very imperfect, and that new are not like to be brought to light, but in great length of time; and that those are come not to light by philosophy. He thought also this state of knowledge was the worse, because men strive (against themselves) to save the credit of ignorance, and so satisfy themselves, in this poverty: for the physician, besides the cautels of practice, hath this general cautel of art, that he discharges the weakness of his art upon supposed impossibilities; neither can his art be condemned, when itself judgeth. That philosophy also out of which the knowledge of physic which now is in use is hewed, receiveth certain positions and opinions, which, if they be well weighed, induce this persuasion, that no great works are to be expected from art, and the hand of man: as in particular, that opinion, that the heat of the sun and fire differ in kind; and that other, in composition is the work of man, and mixture is the work of nature, and the like; all tending to the circumscription of man's power, and to artificial despair; killing in men not only the comfort of imagination, but the industry of trial; only upon vain glory to have their art thought perfect, and that all is impossible that is

not already found. The alchemist discharges his art upon his own errors, either supposing a misunderstanding of the words of his authors, which maketh him listen after auricular traditions, or else a failing in the true proportions and scruples of practice, which maketh him renew infinitely his trials; and finding also that he lighteth upon some mean experiments and conclusions by the way, feedeth upon them, and magnifieth them to the most, and supplieth the rest in hopes. The magician, when he findeth something (as he conceiveth above nature) effected, thinketh when a breach is once made in nature, that it is all one to perform great things and small, not seeing that they are but subjects of a certain kind, wherein magic and superstition hath played in all times. The mechanical person, if he can refine an invention, or put two or three observations or practices together in one, or couple things better with their use, or make the work in less or greater volume, taketh himself for an inventor. So he saw well, that men either persuade themselves of new inventions as of impossibilities, or else think they are already extant, but in secret and in few hands; or that they account of those little industries and additions, as of inventions; all which turneth to the averting of their minds from any just and constant labour to invent further in any quantity. He thought also, that when men did set before themselves the

variety and perfection of works produced by mechanical arts, they are apt rather to admire the provisions of man, than to apprehend his wants; not considering that the original inventions and conclusions of nature, which are the life of all that variety, are not many nor deeply fetched; and that the rest is but the subtle and ruled motion of the instrument and hand; and that the shop therein, is not unlike the library, which in such number of books, containeth (for the far greater part) nothing but iterations, varied sometimes in form, but not new in substance. So he saw plainly, that opinion of store was a cause of want, and that both works and doctrines appear many, and are few.

9. As a sort of respite from his severer studies, he published, in 1610, his celebrated treatise "Of the Wisdom of the Ancients." The object of this work is to shew, that the allegories and fables of antiquity, whether moral, physical, or political, however apparently absurd, possess some concealed meaning, which had never been sufficiently explained. To supply this deficiency, he has undertaken to interpret these ancient mysteries,

in which he has displayed great sagacity and penetration. In addition to what he conceived to be the views of the ancients in the invention of these fables, he has interspersed throughout various important observations, for which this treatise furnished him a convenient vehicle. It was published, and most probably written in Latin; but it was translated by sir Arthur Gorges. It has passed through many different editions, and except his "Essays," to which it is often added, is, of all his works, the most popular.

10. Upon his taking possession of the office of chancellor, he delivered an oration, which is one of the finest in our language. It were endless to enumerate all his speeches and smaller pieces.

11. In 1620, he published his greatest, and most perfect work, and that on which himself set the highest value, the *Novum Organum*; being the second part of his Grand Instauration of the Sciences.

12. The vigour of his mind did not sink with his fall from power. For a while, indeed, it was broken and disturbed by the rock on which he had dashed; but soon his thoughts, bursting into a new channel, flowed onward with

their accustomed, full, and majestic course. After the lapse of somewhat less than a twelve-month from the period of his disgrace, he published his "History of King Henry VII." which he dedicated to Charles, prince of Wales. This history was probably composed, partly from materials which are now lost. It was undertaken at the request of king James, (who was the grandson of Henry) in compliment to whom it is a sort of apologetical history, calculated ito favour his master's despotical principles.

13. About the year 1624, he composed a treatise, entitled "Considerations of a War with Spain;' and likewise drew up heads of a speech for his friend, sir Edward Sackville, upon the same subject. It was for these services, that, on application to the king, he obtained his full pardon.

14. It now remains only to give a brief account of the "Instauration of the Sciences," which has been incidentally mentioned before. This great work is divided into six principal parts.

1. Of these, the Advancement of Learning, already treated of, forms the first; and in

which he takes a general view of learning, its objects, and its several branches.

2. The *Novum Organum*, or new method of employing the reasoning faculties in pursuit of truth, forms the second part. This, in every point of view, is the most considerable portion of the work. Here he uproots the very foundations of the Aristotelian philosophy—which taught the art of syllogizing in words, without any clear and distinct ideas—and subjecting natural objects to observation and experiment, established in its place the method of induction, as the only true key to the temple of philosophy.

3. The third part is entitled *Sylva Sylvarum*, or rather, a History of Nature; and was intended as a pattern of the method in which philosophical researches ought to be conducted. It furnishes materials, on which the *new organ*, or instrument, which he had invented, might be exerted. In this repositary, the phenomena of nature are ranged under three principal heads. 1. The History of Generations, or the production of all species according to the ordinary laws of nature. 2. Of Preter-generations, or births deviating from the stated

rule. 3. The History of Nature, as confined or assisted, changed or tortured, by the art of man.

4. The fourth part he stiles *Scala Intellectus*, or the Series of Steps, by which the Understanding might regularly ascend in its Philosophical Enquiries; and in which his method of philosophising is applied and illustrated.

5. The fifth part, called *Anticipationes Philosophiæ Secundæ*, was designed to contain philosophical hints and suggestions; but nothing of this remains but the title and scheme.

6. The sixth was intended to exhibit the whole fabric of his system in all its extent and grandeur, comprehending the universal principles of knowledge, deduced from experiment and observation. This, however, was a work not to accomplished by the unaided might of one man. Having therefore fixed his edifice on an immoveable basis, he was compelled to leave its completion to the united labours of after ages.

The plan of this unrivalled work was formed when he was only twenty-six years of age, and yet a student at Gray's Inn. This outline he entitled, *Temporis Partum Max-*

imum; or, "The Greatest Birth of Time." But in the greater maturity of his reason, he became ashamed of this pompous title: for in a letter to father Fulgentio, a learned Italian, he laments the puerile folly and vain confidence which led him to adopt it. These rudiments of Bacon's philosophy are supposed by Mallet, his editor, to remain under the more modest title, "Of the Interpretation of Nature;" and we have still the advantage of tracing the steps by which he advanced from one discovery to another, till his philosophical system assumed that comprehensive vastness, which will astonish and enlighten all succeeding generations.

Bacon's works, complete, were published in the year 1803, in 10 vols. 8vo. In this edition, his English works are comprised in the six first volumes; his Latin in the four last.

The character of Bacon and of his philosophy is admirably drawn by D'Alembert. I extract it from the Annual Register; year 1773, page 80, part 2.

"On considering attentively the sound, intelligent, and extensive views of this great man, the multiplicity of objects his piercing wit had comprehended within its sphere, the

elevation of his style, that every where makes the boldest images to coalesce with the most rigorous precision, we should be tempted to esteem him the greatest, the most universal, and the most eloquent of philosophers. His works are justly valued, perhaps more valued, than known, and therefore more deserving of our study than eulogiums. Bacon, born amidst the obscurity of the most profound night, perceived that philosophy did not yet exist, though many had undoubtedly flattered themselves for having excelled in it; for, the more an age is gross and ignorant, the more it believes itself informed of all that can be possibly known. He began by taking a general view of the various objects of all natural sciences; he divided those sciences into different branches, of which he made the most exact enumeration; he examined into what was already known as to each of those objects, and he drew up an immense catalogue of what remained to be discovered. This was the aim and subject of his admirable work, on the dignity and augmentation of natural knowledge. In his New Organ of Sciences, he perfects the views he had pointed out in the first work; he carries them farther, and

shews the necessity of experimental physics, which was not yet thought of. An enemy to systems, he beholds philosophy as only that part of our knowledge, which ought to contribute to make us better or more happy. He seems to limit it to the science of useful things, and every where recommends the study of nature. His other writings are formed on the same plan. Every thing in them, even their titles, is expressive of the man of genius, of the mind that sees in great. He there collects facts; he there compares experiments, and indicates a great number to be made. He invites the learned to study and perfect the arts, which he deems as the most illustrious and most essential part of human knowledge. He exposes with a noble simplicity his conjectures and thoughts on different objects worthy of interesting men; and he might have said, as the old gentleman of Terence, that nothing affecting humanity was foreign to him. Science of nature, morality, politics, œconomics, all seemed to be within the stretch of that luminous and profound wit; and we know not which most to admire, the richness he diffuses over all the subjects he treats of, or the dignity with which he speaks of them.

His writings cannot be better compared than to those of Hippocrates on medicine; and they would be neither less admired nor less read, if the culture of the mind was as dear to mankind as the preservation of their health. But there are none but the chiefs of sects of all kinds, whose works can have a certain splendor. Bacon was not of the number, and the form of his philosophy was against it. It was too good to fill any one with astonishment. The scholastic philosophy, which had gained the ascendant in his time, could not be overthrown but by bold and new opinions; and there is no probability that a philosopher, who only intimates to men, 'This is the little you have learned, this is what remains for your enquiry,' is calculated for making much noise among his cotemporaries. We might even presume to hazard some degree of reproach against the lord chancellor Bacon for having been perhaps too timid, if we were not sensible with what reserve, and as it were with what superstition, judgment ought to be passed on so sublime a genius. Though he confesses that the scholastic philosophers had enervated the sciences by the minutiæ of their questions, and that sound intellects ought to

have made a sacrifice of the study of general beings to that of particular objects, he seems, notwithstanding, by the frequent use he makes of school-terms, and sometimes also by the adopting of scholastic principles, and by the divisions and sub-divisions then much in vogue, to have shewed too much deference for the predominant taste of his age. This great man, after breaking the shackles of so many irons, was still entangled by some chains, which he either could not, or dared not to break asunder."

Such were the intellectual labours of this wonderful man. He has been styled, the father of experimental philosophy. The expression should be more comprehensive; he was the father of universal philosophy. Yet it is not strictly true, as D'Alembert affirms, that he was born amidst the obscurity of the most profound night. In respect of experimental philosophy, indeed, the expression is just; but it must be understood with very great limitations, if applied to the state of general knowledge. In truth, the dawn of knowledge had so far advanced, that broad day had already begun to appear. The age was prepared for him. The two great events, the revival of letters and the refor-

mation, had shaken and enlivened the wits of men; and many had struck out into new paths of successful research. But these were travellers on journeys of discovery. The map of the intellectual regions had not yet been sketched. A few positions only ascertained; the other parts were desert and unknown. But Bacon came, and with the light of his effulgent genius, illumined the whole hemisphere of things; the various objects of enquiry now became distinctly marked, with their relative positions and bearings; the several tracts towards them were likewise indicated, and even made plain; and men had nothing more to do than to proceed patiently and perseveringly to reach with certainty the expected end of their labours. From the time of Bacon therefore the progress of knowledge of all kinds has been rapid and continual. That his writings constituted the sole cause of this general progression, I by no means intend to assert; but that they taught solely, and established the only true method of acquiring knowledge, will not be disputed. The minds of men thus enlightened, their views of things became clear and settled. All future change, relative to the method of proceeding, is now

out of the question; and we may go on without any risk that our labour shall be in vain, to accumulate knowledge, to spread illumination and happiness. The writings of Bacon, therefore, form one of the most important æras, not merely in the history of English literature, but in the annals of mankind.

Bacon was fully sensible of the value of his labours. His last will contains this remarkable passage: "My name and memory I leave to foreign nations, and to mine own country after some time is passed over."

His great talents shone forth even in his tender years, and were assisted by an ardent application. Before he was sixteen, such was the maturity of his powers that he had run through the whole circle of the liberal arts as taught in his time, and began to perceive those imperfections in the prevalent philosophy, which he afterwards so effectually exposed and dethroned.

As one proof, among numberless others, of his greatness, it is recorded, that through all the changes of his fortune, he never lost the command of his thoughts; but was able to direct them at will, and to bring them to bear upon what he always regarded as the great

business of his life,—the regeneration of philosophy. This self-command is placed in a strong light, by the following anecdote. Bacon had applied to the court for some important favour; and the friend who reported the answer, found him dictating to his chaplain an account of some philosophical experiments. On being informed that his suit had failed, he calmly replied—"Be it so"—and dismissing his friend, he turned to his chaplain, saying—"Well, sir, if that business will not succeed, let us go on with this, which is in our power;" and he continued to dictate for some time without embarrassment or interruption.

The quality of mind by which Bacon was pre-eminently distinguished—a quality which of all others is the most distinctive of genius—was that variety, that universality of intellectual powers, which enabled him to embrace all nature in the ample vision of his capacious soul. Thus largely endowed, his faculties were kept in unceasing activity by their native force; the voice of fame was to him an unnecessary stimulus, and he never sought extensive and indiscriminate applause. Yet his studies were always the principal business of his life. His great aim in his philo-

sophical pursuits was, to discover remedies for all human ills. Hence, he modestly stiles himself the servant of posterity; and thought himself born for the use of human kind.

SPEED.

JOHN SPEED, author of the History and Maps of Great Britain, was born at Farrington in Cheshire, in 1552. He was by profession a taylor, and was free of merchant-taylors' company in London. Sir Fulk Greville had the penetration to discern his natural ability and inclinations, and had the generosity to furnish him with means to prosecute his favourite studies. He died in 1629.

1. His first work was his "Theatre [or maps] of the Empire of Great Britain, presenting an exact Geography of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Isles adjoining; with the shires, hundreds, cities, and shire-towns, within the kingdom of England, divided and described by John Speed. Lond.

1606, fol." These are the best maps which had appeared of the British dominions, prior to his time.

2. This work was followed by his "History of Great Britain, the Conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans; their originals, manners, wars, coins, and seals; with the successions, lives, acts, and issues of the English monarchs, from Julius Cæsar to our most gracious sovereign king James. 1614, fol." In the compilement of this history, the author had many facilities afforded him, and some coadjutors. The reign of Henry V. was compiled from collections, notes, and extracts, made by George Carew, earl of Totness. That of Henry VII. is borrowed almost exclusively from Bacon. For the reign of Henry VIII, he is indebted to the notes and collections of sir Robert Cotton. Sir Henry Spelman has also furnished him with materials. The life of king John was written by Dr. Barkham, dean of Bocking; and likewise the life of Henry II. The catalogue of the religious houses, at the end of King Henry VIII.th's reign, was drawn up by William Burton, esq. It is moreover affirmed by Dr. Thomas Smith, that sir Robert Cotton revised,

corrected, and polished the whole. It has been justly observed by James Tyrrel, esq. that "Speed was the first English writer, who slighting Geoffrey's Tales, immediately fell upon more solid matter, giving us a large account of the history of this island, during the time of the Roman emperors and English Saxon kings," &c. &c. The truth of this observation will be apparent from the following passages.

Not to derive the truth of our history from the feigned intentions of a forged Berosus, that bringeth Samothes to people this island, about one hundred fifty-two years after the flood, to give laws to the land, and to leave it to his posterity, for three hundred thirty-five years continuance: although he be countenanced by Amandus Zirixæus in the annotations of White of Basingstocke, and magnified unto us by the names of *Dis* and *Meshech* the sixth son of Japheth, from whom this island with a sect of philosophers took their names, saith Textor, Bale, Holinshed, and Caius: yet seeing this building hath no better a foundation but Berosus, and he not only justly suspected, but long since fully convicted for a counterfeit, we leave it, as better fitting the pens of vulgar chroniclers, than the relish or liking of judicious readers: whilst with Laertius we judge rather, that those Sophes were termed Semnothoes,

and they not from Samothea, as Villichus would have us believe.

Neither soundeth the music of Albion's legion tunable to our ears, whom Berosus with full note, and Annius alloweth to be the fourth son of Neptune, and him the same that Moses calleth Napthtahim, the fourth son of Mizraim, the second son of Cham, the third son of Noah, (because his fictions should be countenanced with the first) who being put into this island by Neptune his father (accounted forsooth the god of the seas) about the year after the flood, three hundred thirty and five, overcame the Samotheans, as easily he might, being a man of so great strength in body, and largeness of limbs, that he is accounted among the giants of the earth. Him Hercules, surnamed Lybicus, in battle assailed for the death of Osiris his father, and after forty-four years tyranny (saith Bale) slew him with his brother Bergeon in the continent of Gallia, near to the mouth of the river Rhodanus; whence Hercules travelled into this island as Giraldus (from Gildas the ancient Briton poet) conjectureth, whose fifth dialogue of poetry he had seen; and the rather believed because Ptolemy calleth that head of land in Cornwall, Promontorium Herculis, and left the possession of the island unto them of Cham, contrary to the meaning of the Scriptures, that made him a captive, but never a conqueror over his brethren, whilst their first policies were standing.

The last, but much applauded opinion, for the possessing and peopling of this island, is that of Brute, generally held for the space of these last four hundred years, (some few men's exceptions reserved) who with his dispersed Trojans came into, and made conquest of this island, the year of the world's creation two thousand eight hundred eighty seven, and after the universal flood one thousand two hundred thirty one, in the eighteenth year of Heli, his priesthood in the land of Israel, and before the incarnation of Christ our Saviour one thousand fifty nine. This Brute is brought from the ancient Trojans by descent; yea, and from the persons of the heathen deified gods: as that he was the son of Sylvius, who was the son of Ascanius, the son of Æneas, the son of Anchises by Venus the goddess, and daughter to Jupiter, their greatest in account. And if Pliny and Varro hold it praiseworthy to challenge descents (though falsely) from famous personages, whereby, as they say, appeareth an inclination to virtue, and a valorous conceit to persuade unto honour as sprung from a race divine and powerful: then by all means let us listen to him of Monmouth, who hath brought his nation to rank in degree with the rest of the Gentiles, which claim themselves to be the generation of the gods.

But why do I attribute the work to him, as the author, since he professeth himself to be but the

translator of that history, out of the British tongue, which Walter, the archdeacon of Oxford, brought out of Normandy, and delivered unto him? For the further confirmation thereof, and more credit to his story, Henry of Huntingdon, who lived in the time of king Stephen, and wrote likewise the history of this land, bringeth the line of Brute from Æneas the Trojan and his arrivage and conquest, to happen in the time of Heli his priesthood in the land of Israel, as Geffery ap Arthur hath also done: not taking (as some think) any thing thereof from him, but rather out of an ancient book, intitled, *De Origine Regum Britannorum*, found by himself in the library of the abbey of Bec, as he travelled towards Rome: which history began at the arrival of Brute, and ended with the acts of Cadwalader, as by a treatise of his own inditing, bearing the same title, hath been compared, and found in all things agreeing with our vulgar history, as industrious Lambert affirmeth himself to have seen. And Nenius is said by the writer of the reformed history, to bring these Britons from the race of the Trojans, four hundred years before that Geffery wrote: yea, and long before Nenius also, Taliessin, a Briton poet, in an ode called Hanes, of Taiess his course of life, in these words: *Mia dey thym yma at Wedillion Troia*, that is, I came hither to the remnants of Troy.

That William of Malmsbury (who wrote in the

days of king Henry I.) was before him of Monmouth, is most certain; yet doth he make mention of Arthur, a prince (saith he) deserving rather to be advanced by the truth of records, then abused by false imputation of fables; being the only prop and upholder of his country. And Beda, his ancient also, nameth Ambrosius Aurelianus to be king of the Britons, long before that Geffery was born: so was Brennus, mentioned by Livy; Bellinus (if he be Belgius) by Justin; Cassibelan by Cæsar; Cunobilin by Suetonius; Arviragus by Martial; Lucius by Eusebius; Coel, Constantius, Carausius, and others, by Eutropius, and Paulus Diaconus; and Helena by Nicephorus, Ambrose, and Socrates. These are the affirmatives that give countenance to the archdeacon of Monmouth's translation, and credit to Brute's conquests and successors; yea, and John Harding his herald, in his home-spun poetry, can easily enblaze his arms to be gules charged with two lions rampant endorsed *or;* and the same to be borne by the kings of Troy. And his banner displayed at his entrance is said to be *vert*, a Diana of gold fitchel, crowned and inthronized, the same that Æneas bare when he entered the land of the Latins. But the censures of these relations I leave to the best liking of judicious readers, only wishing them to be unlike the inhabitants under the rocks of the cataracts of Nilus, whereof Cicero and Ammianus

make mention, who were made deaf by the continual noise of the fall of Nilus: lest by the sound and loud voices of these writers, the exceptions of others cannot be heard, which from the fullness of their pens, I will likewise declare, without offence, I hope, unto any.

At the end of his work he gives a "Summary Conclusion of the Whole," in which we have a further confirmation of his having applied to authentic documents.

By the assistance of the All-sufficient, (the only defence and preserver of man) my insufficient abilities have attained the end of this work, and my weak unable person brought to a period this large edifice of "Great Britain's Theatre." How acceptable to others, I know not; but with what pains and travail to myself, my decayed strength too manifestly have felt, and with what care of truth, the authorities alledged through the whole process are my witnesses; whose lines have been the measures, and antiquities the matter, that hath raised the fabric unto this height. The attempt was great, and far unfit (I must confess) for me to undergo; which, even at the first entrance, was so censured by the judicious, and in the continuance hath so proved, that now

it being finished, as the silkworm endeth her life in her long wrought clew, so I in this Theatre have built my own grave; whose architecture, howsoever defective it may be said to be, yet the project is good; and the cost great, though myself have freely bestowed this pains to the press, without pressing a penny from any man's purse. For me to shew the utility of history, were to light a dim candle before the bright sun; or to prescribe a method for their uses, were with Phormio to read a lecture of chivalry unto great Hannibal, war's experienced conductor: but as our own concerneth us nearest (wherein my pen hath taken the freest access) so let me abridge the whole in a small circle, and incompass that briefly, which hath been related in a far wider circumference, &c.

Bishop Nicholson gives the following character of Speed: "John Speed must be acknowledged to have had a head the best disposed towards history of any of our writers; and would certainly have outdone himself, as far as he has gone beyond the rest of his profession, if the advantages of his education had been answerable to those of his natural genius. But what could be expected from a

taylor? However, we may boldly say, that his chronicle is the largest and best we have hitherto extant. It begins with the first inhabitants of the island, and ends with the union of the kingdoms under king James, to whom it is dedicated. Though some say he spent twice seven years in compiling the whole, he himself owns he made more haste than he ought to have done; and that he was forced to trust a deal of his work in the hands of his friends and journeymen. And the truth of this honest acknowledgment and confession is obvious enough to a discerning reader; who will easily find a mighty difference in the style, as well as matter of several of the reigns."

It is remarkable, that both Speed and Stow, persons to whom English history is so much indebted, were both taylors.

DANIEL.

SAMUEL DANIEL, poet and historian, was the son of a music-master, and born near Taunton in Somersetshire, in 1562. At the age of seventeen, he was admitted commoner of Magdalene College, Oxford, but left the university without a degree.

His own merit, joined to the recommendation of his brother-in-law, John Florio, author of an Italian Dictionary, procured him the patronage of queen Anne, consort of James I. who honoured him with the office of groom of the privy chamber. The queen was much pleased with his conversation, and her elevating countenance, aided by his own talents, introduced him to the acquaintance of some of the most celebrated men of the day, as sir John Harrington, Camden, sir Robert Cotton, sir Henry Spelman, Spenser,

Ben Jonson, &c. &c. He subsequently became preceptor to the lady Anne Clifford, who, when afterwards countess of Pembroke, was an exemplary patroness of learning and learned men. He succeeded Spenser as poet-laureat to queen Elizabeth; and died at Beckington, near Philips-Norton in Somersetshire, in 1619.

Daniel wrote, 1. in prose, "A Defence of Rhime, against a pamphlet entitled, Observations on the Art of English Poesy,—wherein is demonstrably proved, that rhime is the fittest harmony of words, that comports with our language," 1611, 8vo. This, with his plays, and other poetical compositions, were published together at London, in two volumes 12mo. 1718.

2. But my principal business with Daniel is as an historian. The first part of his History of England, in three books, was printed in 1613, 4to. and extending from William the Conqueror to the end of king Stephen's reign; with a very brief survey of the British history, prior to the conquest. To this he afterwards added "A Second Part," which was printed in the year 1618, and reached to the end of Edward III.

In his advertisement to the reader, Daniel states the authorities whence he derived his materials, as follow:

Now for what I have done, which is the greatest part of our history, (and wherein, I dare avow, is more together of the main, than hath been yet contracted into one piece,) I am to render an account whence I had my furniture: which if I have omitted to charge my margin withal, I would have the reader to know, that in the lives of William I, William II, Henry I, and Stephen, I have especially followed William Malmsbury, Ingulphus, Roger Hovedeu, Huntingdon, with all such collections, as have been made out of others for those times. In the lives of Henry II, Richard I, John, and Henry III, Giraldus Cambrensis, Rushanger, Mat. Paris, Mat. Westminst. Nich. Trivet, Caxton, and others. In the lives of Edward I, Edward II, and Edward III, Froissart and Walsingham, with such collections as by Polydore Virgil, Fabian, Grafton, Hall, Holinshed, Stow, and Speed, diligent and famous travellers in the search of our history, have been made and divulged to the world. For foreign businesses (especially with France, where we had most to do,) I have for authors, Paulus Emilius, Hallian, Fillet, and others, without whom we cannot truly understand our own affairs. And where otherwise I have had

any supplies extraordinary, either out of record, or such instruments of state as I could procure, I have given a true account of them in the margin, so that the reader shall be sure to be paid with no counterfeit coin, but such as shall have the stamp of antiquity, the approbation of testimony, and the allowance of authority, so far as I shall proceed herein.

And for that I would have this breviary to pass with an uninterrupted delivery of the especial affairs of the kingdom (without embroiling the memory of the reader) I have in a body apart, under the title of an appendix, collected all treaties, letters, articles, charters, ordinances, entertainments, provisions of armies, businesses of commerce, with other passages of state appertaining to our history; which, as soon as I have means to print, shall, for the better satisfying such worthy persons as may make use of such materials, accompany this collection; and to this appendix I have made references in the margin, as occasion requires.

He commences his history with giving his reasons why he did not begin farther back than William the Conqueror.

Undertaking, says he, to collect the principal affairs of this kingdom, I had a desire to have deduced the same from the beginning of the first British kings, as they are registered in their catalogues; but finding no authentical warrant how they came there, I did put off that desire with these considerations: That a lesser part of time, and better known, (which was from William I. surnamed the Bastard) was more than enough for my ability; and how it was but our curiosity to search further back into times past than we might discern, and whereof we could neither have proof nor profit; how the beginnings of all people and states were as uncertain as the heads of great rivers, and could not add to our virtue, and peradventure, little to our reputation to know them, considering how commonly they rise from the springs of poverty, piracy, robbery, and violence; howsoever fabulous writers (to glorify their nations) strive to abuse the credulity of after-ages with heroical or miraculous beginnings. For states (as men) are ever best seen when they are up, and as they are, not as they were. Besides, (it seems) God in his providence, to check our presumptuous inquisition, wraps up all things in uncertainty, bars us out from long antiquity, and bounds our searches within the compass of a few ages, as if the same were sufficient, both for example and instruction, to the government of men. For had we the

particular occurrents of all ages and all nations, it might more stuff but not better our understanding; we shall find still the same correspondencies to hold in the actions of men; virtues and vices the same, though rising and falling, according to the worth, or weakness of governors; the causes of the ruins and mutations of states to be alike, and the train of affairs carried by precedent, in a course of succession, under like colours.

Daniel's History displays good sense and a manly taste; the narrative is clear and simple, and the language is remarkable for being more correct and elegant, and more resembling our modern stile, than that of any writer of his age.

This History was continued to the end of Richard III. by John Trussel, a trader, and alderman of the city of Winchester. The full title is, "A Continuation of the Collection of the History of England, beginning where Samuel Daniel, esq. ended, with the Reign of Edward III. and ending where the honourable viscount St. Albans began with the Life of Henry VII.; being a complete history of the beginning and end of the dissention betwixt the

two houses of York and Lancaster; with the matches and issue of all the kings, princes, dukes, marquisses, earls, and viscounts of this nation deceased, during those times." The fifth edition of the complete work is dated 1685. The continuation has neither the elegance nor the judgment of the first part.

SPELMAN.

Sir Henry Spelman, knight, descended from an ancient family of his name at Beckington in Hampshire, but which settled finally in Norfolk, was born in 1562. Before he had been well grounded in grammar learning, he entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, at the age of fourteen, where, after a residence of no more than two years and half, he was recalled to attend the funeral of his father, and to superintend the family concerns. After the lapse of about a twelvemonth, he was admitted of Lincoln's Inn. Here his attention was chiefly turned to polite literature, and that branch of the law which relates to the investigation of its general principles, rather than to those minutiæ requisite to practice.

On his becoming of age, he married, and

settled on his estate in Norfolk; but still found time to prosecute his study of the laws and constitution of his country. Being subsequently admitted member of the society of antiquaries, he became acquainted with sir Robert Cotton, Camden, and other antiquarians. In 1604, he was appointed high sheriff of Norfolk, and probably about this time wrote a description of that county, communicated to Speed, who printed it in 1606. In 1612, he quitted the country, with his wife and family, and settled in London, where he died in 1641.

Spelman, soon after his arrival in town, engaged in an important undertaking—the investigation of "The Grounds of the Law, from Original Records;" and in the prosecution of this plan, collected all the books and MSS. relative to that article, and diligently read over the fathers and councils, with as many of the historians of the middle ages, whether foreign or domestic, as he could procure. After some interruptions he proceeded in his enquiries, in the course of which he continually encountered numbers of obsolete words, not easily understood, yet which it was essential to explain. He therefore be-

gan to make a collection of such words, with a reference to the places where they were respectively found; and by a comparison of different instances of the use of a given word, obtained its conjectural signification, often with considerable accuracy. As his collection increased, the reading of the ancient historians became less difficult; he proceeded to digest his materials, and by comparing the several quotations, at length obtained the exact signification of such words, in the different ages in which they were respectively used.

Still there was something wanting to the perfection of his plan. He perceived that many of our laws since the conquest were taken from the constitutions of the Saxons, and that many obsolete terms in our Latin historians are of Saxon origin; and found that an acquaintance with that language, if not indispensible, was at least necessary to a clearer interpretation of many obscure passages. Accordingly, in spite of the difficulty arising from the almost total absence of all helps in that age, he succeeded in making himself a competent master of that language. In 1621, he printed a sheet or two as a specimen of his work, which he communicated to his an-

tiquarian friends; and received encouragement from Camden, sir Robert Cotton, Selden, and others, to go on. He now prepared a part of it for the press, and offered it to a bookseller at the small recompence of 5l.; which being refused, he ventured to print it, to the end of the letter L, at his own risk; and it was published under the title of "*Archæologus,*" &c. The reason why he gave it this title instead of *Glossarium,* was, because it was not strictly speaking a glossary, but a collection of discourses and dissertations under various heads. The second part was not published till long after his death, or in 1607, by his grandson, Mr. Charles Spelman.

2. His next work was, A History of the Civil Affairs of the Kingdom, from the Conquest to *Magna Charta,* selected from our best historians, and commonly expressed in their own words, 1627.

3. *De Sepultura;* or, Of Burial Fees, 1628. The above are in Latin.

4. "The History of the English Councils." This work is divided into three parts, each occupying a volume. 1. From the first plantation of Christianity to the coming in of the Conqueror, in 1066; 2. From the Norman

Abbreviations, and such other obsolete forms of writing, as occur in our ancient MSS. to facilitate the reading of ancient books and records."

2. "Of Ancient Deeds and Charters."

3. "Of the Original of Testaments and Wills, and of their Probate, to whom it anciently belonged."

4. "Of the Admiral's Jurisdiction, and the Officers thereof."

Among his papers were also found, 1. A Discourse of the Ancient Government of England in general.

2. Of Parliaments in Particular.

3. And lastly, A Catalogue of the Places and Dwellings of the Archbishops and Bishops of this Realm, now, or of former times, in which their several owners have ordinary jurisdiction, as of a parcel of their diocese, though they be situate within the precinct of another bishop's diocese.

A collection of the English works of sir Henry Spelman was published in 1625, folio, by Mr. Edmund Gibson, afterwards bishop of London. The same person soon after edited another collection, entitled *Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ*; the posthumous Works of Sir Henry

Spelman, Knight, relating to the Laws and Antiquities of England; published from the original MSS. in 1698, folio. Both of these collections were reprinted together in 1723, in one volume, folio. From this collection I select the following extract.

Of the ancient Government of England.

To tell the government of England under the old Saxon laws, seemeth an Utopia to us at present; strange and uncouth: yet can there be no period assigned, wherein either the frame of those laws was abolished, or this of ours entertained; but as day and night creep insensibly one upon the other, so also hath this alteration grown upon us insensibly, every age altering something, and no age seeing more than what themselves are actors in, nor thinking it to have been otherwise than as themselves discover it by the present. Like them of China, who never travelling out of their own country, think the whole world to extend no further. As one therefore that has coasted a little further into former times, I will offer unto you a rude map thereof; not like those of the exquisite cosmographers of our latter ages, but like them of old, when as neither cross sails nor compass were yet known to navigators.

Our Saxons, though divided into many kingdoms, yet were they all one in effect, in manners, laws, and language; so that the breaking of their government into many kingdoms, or the re-uniting their kingdoms into a monarchy, wrought little or no change amongst them, touching laws: for though we talk of the *West-Saxon law*, the *Mercian law*, and the *Dane law*, whereby the west parts of England, the middle parts, and those of Norfolk, Suffolk, and the north, were severally governed; yet held they all an uniformity in substance, differing rather in their mulct than in their Canea, that is, in the quantity of fines and amercements, than in the course and frame of justice.

Therefore, when all these kingdoms grew into one monarchy, as under Alured, Ethelstane, Edgar, &c. this bred no notable innovation in any of them; for the king had no new law to impose upon his new subjects, nor were his new subjects unacquainted with his form of government; having always lived according to the same. So that when Edward the Confessor came to take away these small differences that were between these three laws, he did it even in these fickle and unconstant times, without all tumult or contradiction; making that his alteration famous rather by the new name, than by the new matter. For abolishing the three particular names before mentioned, he now called it the *common law of*

England, for that no part of the kingdom should henceforth be governed by any particular law, but all alike by a *common law*. But insomuch as this *common law* is but the half arch of the government, tending only to the temporal part thereof, and not unto the ecclesiastical; I cannot well present the one without the other, and must therefore make a project of the whole arch, that so the strength and uniformity of both the parts may the better be conceived.

As therefore each side of an arch descendeth alike from the cone, or top-point; so both the parts of that their government was alike deduced from the king, each of them holding correspondency one with the other, (like two loving sisters) both in aspect and in lineaments.

To begin with the *right* side, or eldest sister: the estate ecclesiastical was first divided into provinces; every province into many bishoprics; every bishopric into many arch-deaconries; every arch-deaconry into divers deaneries; every deanery into many parishes. And all these committed to their several governors, parsons, deans, arch-deacons, bishops, and arch-bishops, who, as subordinate one to the other, did not only execute the charge of these their several portions, but were accountant also for the same to their superiors.

The parson, as *ima species*, was to hear and deter-

mine the breaches of God's peace, of love, and charity, within his parish, to reprove the inordinate life of his parishioners: and though he could not strike with the ecclesiastical sword, yet might he shake it against them by enjoining notorious offenders to contrition, repentance, satisfaction, and some time by removing them from the blessed sacrament.

The dean to take cognizance of the life and conversation of the parsons and clergymen of every parish within his deanery; to censure breach of church-peace, and to punish incontinent and infamous livers, by excommunication, penance, &c.

And because there could be no breach of the king's peace, but it must also break the peace and unity of the church; the bishop's dean in whose deanery the peace was broken, had in some cases 10s. for his part of the mulct, or fine thereof; as appeareth Ll. Ed. Confess. cap. 31.

The arch-deacon, drawing nearer to the bishop, drew the more pre-eminence from him, and was his coadjutor in the ordination of clerks, having a superintendent power over all parochial parsons within every deanery of his precinct.

The bishop, as the greatest orb of the diocese, had jurisdiction and coercion through the same, in all ecclesiastical causes, and in all persons; except monasteries exempted. And for this purpose had two general synods in the year, wherein all the clergy of

his diocese assembled for determining matters touching the church, as well in faith as in government.

But the archbishop (to bind up this golden faggot in the band of union and conformity) comprehended all the bishops of his province, *sub pallio suæ plenitudinis*, or *sub plenitudine potestatis:* having supreme jurisdiction to visit and reform all in their dioceses, whatsoever was defective or omitted. That by this means no transgression might break through so many wards, but if it escaped the sword of Hazael, Jehu might slay it; or if it passed them both, yet Elisha might light upon it.

This was the model of the church policy; composed no doubt out of that fundamental rule of government prescribed by Jethro unto Moses: *Appoint rulers over thousands, over hundreds, over fifties, and over tens.* According to the steps whereof the state temporal did likewise take her lineaments.

For the temporal government was likewise divided into satrapies or dukedoms, which contained in them divers counties; the county divers lathes or trithings; every trithing divers hundreds or wapentakes; every hundred divers towns or lordships, shortly after called baronies. And the government of all these was committed into their several heads; *viz.* towns or manors to the lords thereof, whom the Saxons called *theings*, after barons; hundreds to the lords of the hundreds; trithings or lathes to their

trithingreves; counties to their earls or aldermen; and the larger satrapies to their dukes or chief princes. All which had subordinate authority, one under the other; and did within the precinct of their own territories minister justice to their subjects.

For the theinge or lord of the town, (whom the Normans called a baron,) had, of old, jurisdiction over them of his own town, (being as it were his colony;) and as Cornelius Tacitus saith, did Agricolis *suis jus dicere.* For those whom we now call tenants, were in these ancient times but husbandmen dwelling upon the soil of the lord, and manuring the same, on such conditions as the lord assigned; or else such as were their followers in the wars, and had therefore portions of ground appointed unto them in respect of that service; which portion was thereupon called a knights-fee; for that a servant in the war, whom the Saxons called a knight, had it allotted unto him as the fee or wages of his service. Neither at the first had they these their fees, but at the lord's pleasure, or for a time limited; and therefore both these kinds of military and husbandmen dwelling upon the town or colony of the lord, were, (as in reason they ought) under the censure and will of their lord touching the lands they occupied; who therefore set them laws and customs, how and in what manner they should possess these their lands; and as any controversy rose about them, the lord,

assembling the rest of his followers, did by their opinion and assistance judge it. Out of which usage, the court-barons took their beginning, and the lords of towns and manners gained the privilege of holding plea and jurisdiction within those their territories over their tenants and followers; who thereupon are at this day called *sectatores*, in French *suitres*, form *suivre*, to follow. But the Saxons themselves called this jurisdiction, *Sacha* and *Soca*, signifying thereby *causarum actionem*, and *libertatem judicandi*; for *sacha* signifieth *causa*, in which sense we yet use it, as when we say *for God's sake*; and *soca* signifieth liberty or privilege, as *Cyricsocne*, *libertas ecclesiæ*. But by this manner the lords of towns (as *ex consuetudine regni*) came to have jurisdiction over their tenants and followers, and to hold plea of all things touching land. But as touching cognizance in criminal matters, they had not otherwise to meddle therewith than by the king's charters. For as touching the king's peace, every hundred was divided into many freeborgs or tithings, consisting of ten men, which stood all bound one for the other, and did amongst themselves, punish small matters in their court for that purpose, called the *Leet*; which was sometimes granted over to the lords of manors, and sometimes exercised by peculiar officers. But the greater things were also carried from thence into the hundred courts; so that both the streams of civil justice, and

of criminal, did there meet, and were decided by the hundreds, &c. as by superior judges, both of the court baron, and court *Leet* also.

Edward the confessor (Ll. cap. 32) saith, that there were justices over every ten freeborgs, called Deans, or Tienheopo'o, (that is, head of ten,) which among their neighbours in towns compounded matters of trespasses done in pastures, meadows, corn, and other strifes rising among them. But the greater matters, saith he, were referred to superior justices appointed over every ten of them, whom we call centurions, centenaries, or hundradors, because they judged over an hundred freeborgs.

The lord of the hundred, therefore, had jurisdiction over all the towns of the hundred, as well in criminal matters as in civil, and they that failed of their right in the court barons, tithings, or *Leets*, might now prosecute it here before the lord of the hundred and his followers, called the suitors of the hundred, which were the lords and owners of lands within that hundred; who were tied to be there at every court; which, as appeareth by the laws of Henry I. cap. 8. was to be holden twelve times in the year, that is, once every month: but especially a full appearance was required twice in the year, in memory whereof the suitors are at this day called at our Lady and Michaelmas courts, by the steward of the hundred.

These (as I said before) held plea of trespasses done in pastures, meadows, corn, and such like, and of other strifes arising between neighbour and neighbour, and (as by and by also shall be shewed) of criminal matters, touching the very life of a man.

The works of Spelman erected a sort of store-house for the writers of English history since his time. He was the restorer of Saxon literature, first by his own study of that language, and afterwards by the foundation of a Saxon professorship at Cambridge, in the year 1639.

His eldest son, sir John Spelman, was also a man of considerable learning. He was the author of several compositions; and in particular, of a Life of King Alfred, which he left in MS. Some time after the restoration, this was translated from the English into Latin, by Mr. Christopher Ware, and published in 1679, fol. by Mr. Obadiah Walker. The original English, however, was printed by Mr. Hearne in 1709, 8vo.

ANDREWS,

BISHOP of WINCHESTER, was born at London, in 1565. He received the rudiments of his education first in the Coopers' free-school at Ratcliff, and afterwards in Merchant Tailor's school in London. At the usual age he entered at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, of which, on his taking his bachelor's degree, he was chosen fellow. Soon after, from the fame of his learning, he was elected honorary fellow of Jesus College in Oxford, lately founded by Hugh Price. On his taking his master's degree, he was chosen catechist of Pembroke Hall, and every Saturday and Sunday read a lecture on the ten commandments, which was numerously attended.

His increasing reputation gained him the countenance of Henry earl of Huntingdon

and particularly of sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state to queen Elizabeth, who assigned him for his immediate maintenance the lease of the parsonage of Alton in Hampshire, and afterwards procured for him the vicarage of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in London. He was subsequently chosen prebendary and residentiary of St. Paul's, as also prebendary of the collegiate church of Southwell; and on the death of Dr. Fulke, became master of Pembroke Hall. Moreover, queen Elizabeth was so struck with his preaching, that she appointed him one of her chaplains in ordinary, made him a prebendary of Westminster, and afterwards dean of that church.

On the accession of James I. he was selected by that prince as his literary champion against the virulent attacks of his enemies; and in 1605, was promoted by him to the bishopric of Chichester; at the same time he was also made lord Almoner. In 1609 he was advanced to the bishopric of Ely; was afterwards nominated one of his majesty's privy counsellors of England, and then of Scotland, when he attended the king in his journey to that kingdom. He was promoted, in 1618, to the bishopric of Winchester, and deanery

of the king's chapel, his last preferments. He died in 1626, aged 71, being the year following the accession of Charles I.

The works of bishop Andrews, of which some are in Latin as well as in English, are too numerous, and too unimportant, to require a particular enumeration in this place. It ought to be noticed, however, that he had a share in the translation of the Pentateuch, and in the historical books of the Old Testament, down to the end of the second book of Kings. His sermons, comprized in a large folio volume, though they evince much learning, and occasionally good sense, are written in the vilest taste that ever disgraced the pen of mortal. They abound in puns and affected witticisms, with the intermixture of Latin and English in tasteless confusion. Notwithstanding this, he was styled by his cotemporaries, *Stella prædicantium*, the star of preachers; and his sermons, after his death, were published by the express direction of Charles I. The following is an amusing specimen;

A Comparison between Angels and Men.

1. What are Angels? Surely they are spirits; glorious spirits; heavenly spirits; immortal spirits.

For their nature or substance, spirits: for their quality or property, glorious: for their place or abode, heavenly: for their durance or continuance, immortal.

And what is the seed of Abraham, but as Abraham himself? And what is Abraham? Let him answer himself; I am dust and ashes. What is the seed of Abraham? Let one answer in the persons of all the rest; *dicens putredini, &c.* saying to rottenness, thou art my mother, and to the worms, ye are my brethren. 1. They are spirits; now what are we, what is the seed of Abraham? Flesh. And what is the very harvest of this seed of flesh? What but corruption, and rottenness, and worms. There is the substance of our bodies.

2. They glorious spirits: we vile bodies (bear with it, it is the Holy Ghost's own term, who shall change our vile bodies). And not only base and vile, but filthy and unclean: *ex immundo conceptum semine*, conceived of unclean seed: there is the metal. And the mould is no better, the womb wherein we were conceived, vile, base, filthy, and unclean. There is our quality.

3. They heavenly spirits, angels of heaven: that is, their place of abode is in heaven above, ours is here below in the dust; *inter pulices, et culices, tineas, araneas, et vermes;* our place is here among fleas and

flies, moths, and spiders, and crawling worms. There is our place of dwelling.

4. They immortal spirits: that is their durance. Our time is proclaimed in the prophet: flesh, all flesh is grass, and the glory of it as the flower of the field (from April to June). The scythe cometh; nay, the wind but bloweth, and we are gone, withering sooner than the grass, which is short: nay, fading sooner than the flower of the grass, which is much shorter: nay, saith Job, rubbed in pieces more easily than any moth.

This we are to them if you lay us together; and if you weigh us upon the balance, we are *altogether lighter than vanity itself:* there is our weight. And if you value us, *man is but a thing of nought:* there is our worth. *Hoc* is *omnis homo;* this is Abraham, and this is Abraham's seed: and who would stand to compare these with angels? Verily, there is no comparison; they are incomparably far better than the best of us.

Of the Nativity.

A prince he is [Christ,] and so he is styled, born, and given to establish a government. * * * * And this government is by name a principality; wherein, neither the popular confusion of many, nor

the factious ambition of a few, bear all the sway; but where one is sovereign. Such is the government of heaven: such is Christ's government, &c. &c. &c.

And now what is all this to us? Yes; to us it is; and that twice over for failing. We come now to look another while into our interest to it, and our benefit by it. *Nobis* is *acquisitivè positus:* we get by it; we are gainers by all this.

To us, not to himself. For a far more noble nativity had he, before all worlds, and needed no more birth. Not to be born at all; specially, not thus basely to be born. Not to him therefore, but to us and our behoof.

To us, as in bar of himself, so likewise of his angels. *Nusquam angelos*, not to the angels was he born or given; but to us he was both. Not an angel in heaven can say *nobis*,— *vobis* they can: the angels said it twice, *nobis natus* or *datus*—*they* cannot; but *we* can both.

Nobis exclusivè, and *nobis inclusivè*. Esay speaks not of himself only, but taketh in Ahaz. Both are in *nobis:* Esay an holy prophet, and Ahaz a worse than whom you shall hardly read of. Esay indulgeth himself, as having need, though a saint; and excludeth not Ahaz from having part, though a sinner. Not only Simeon the Just, but Paul, the sinner of the *quorum*, and the first of the *quorum*,—*Inclu-*

sive: not only of Esay, and his countrymen the Jews; it is of a larger extent. The angel so interpreteth it, this day to the shepherds: *Gaudium, quod erit omni populo*, joy that shall be to all people; not the people of the Jews, or the people of the Gentiles; but simply to all people. His name is Jesus Christ, half Hebrew, half Greek: Jesus, Hebrew, Christ, Greek: so sorted of purpose, to shew, Jews and Greeks have equal interest in him. And now, so is his father's name too, *Abba*, Father, to shew the benefit equally intended by him, to them that call him *Abba*, that is, the Jews; to us that call him Father, that is, the Gentiles. * * *

God with us, Immanuel—why? to what end? To save us from our sins, and from perishing by them. * * * And now to look into the name. It is compounded, and to be taken in pieces. First, into *Immanu* and *El*: of which *El*, (the latter) is the more principal by far: for *El* is God. Now, for any thing yet said in *concipiet* and *pariet*, all is but man with us: not God with us, till now. By the name, we take our first notice, that this child is God: and this is a great addition; and here (lo!) is the wonder! For, as for any child of a woman, to eat *butter* and *honey*, (the words that next follow) where is the *ecce*? But, for *El*, for God, to do it; that is worth an *ecce* indeed! *El* is God: and not God every way; but (as the force of the word is) God, in his full

strength and virtue: God, *cum plenitudine potestatis* (as we say) with all that ever he can do: and that is enough, I am sure.

For the other *Immanu*: though *El* be the more principal, yet I cannot tell, whether it or *Immanu* do more concern us: for as in *El* is might, so in *Immanu*, is our right to his might, and to all he hath, or is worth: by that word we hold; therefore we lay hold of it. The very standing of it thus before, thus in the first place, toucheth us somewhat. The first thing ever that we look for, is *nos*, *nobis*, and *noster*, the possessives: for they do *mittere in possessionem*, put us in possession. We look for it first; and lo! it stands here first: *nobiscum* first, and then *Deus*, after. I shall not need to tell you that in *nobiscum* there is *mecum*; in *nobiscum* for us all, a *mecum* for every one of us. Out of this generality, of *with us*, in gross, may every one deduce his own particular; *with me*, and *me*, and *me*. For all put together make but *nobiscum*. * * * This *Immanu* is a compound again: we may take it in sunder, into *nobis* and *cum*: and so then have we three pieces, *El*, the mighty God; and *Anu*, we, poor we; (poor indeed, if we have all the world beside, if we have not Him to be with us:) and *im*, which is *cum*, and that *cum* in the midst between *nobis* and *Deus*, God and us; to couple God and us: thereby to convey the things of the one to the other. Ours to God:

(alas! they be not worth the speaking of) chiefly then to convey to us the things of God. For that is worth the while: they are indeed worth the conveying.

This *cum* we shall never conceive to purpose, but *carendo:* the value of *with*, no way so well, as by *without*: by stripping of *cum* from *nobis*. And so let *nobis*, *(us)* stand by ourselves, without Him, to see what our case is, but for this Immanuel. What if this virgin's child had not this day been born us; *nobiscum* (after) will be the better esteemed. For if this child be Immanuel, God with us; then without this child, this Immanuel, we be without God. Without Him in this world (saith the Apostle); and if without Him in this, without Him in the next; and if without Him there, if it be not Immanu-*el*, it will be Immanu-*hel;* and that, and no other place, will fall, I fear me, to our share. Without Him, this we are: what with Him? Why, if we have Him, and God by Him, we need no more; Immanu-*el* and Immanu-*all*. All that we can desire is, for us to be with Him, with God, and he to be with us: and we from Him, and he from us, never to be parted. We were with Him, once before, and we were well: and when we left Him, and he no longer with us, then began all our misery: whensoever we go from Him, so shall we be in evil case: and never be well till we be back with Him again.

Then if this be our case, that we cannot be without Him, no remedy then, but to get a *cum*, by whose means *nobis* and *Deus* may come together again. And Christ is that *cum*, to bring it to pass. The parties are God and we: and now this day he is both. God, before, eternally; and now to-day, man: and so both, and takes hold of both, and brings both together again; for two natures here are in Him: if conceived and born of a woman, then a man; If God with us, then God. So Esay offered his sign, from the height above, or from the depth beneath: here it is. From above, *El*; from beneath, *Anu*; one of us, now: and so his sign from both. And both these natures in the unity of one person, called by one name, even this name Immanuel. *Vocabit nomen*, I told you, in his name, is his vocation or office, to be, *cum*; to come between, that is, to be a mediator, to make him that was *contra nos*, *nobiscum* again. A mediator is not of one, but God is one. God and man are two; and they were *two*, (as they say;) were two, and two will be, till he make them one. Recapitulate and cast up both into one sum; to knit *Anu*, that is, *we*, and *El*, that is, God, with his *Im*, into one: one word and one thing, *univocè*, again. So upon the point, in these three pieces, there be three persons; so, a second kind of trinity—God, we, and Christ; *El* is God; *Anu* we; for Christ nothing left but *Im*; that is, *cum*,

or *with*. For it is he that maketh the unity in this trinity; maketh God with us, and us with God: and both, in and by him, to our eternal comfort and joy.

What is the boasted analysis of modern times to this admirable specimen of the good bishop Andrews! He continues it through double the space of that occupied by the extract, of which the unrivalled absurdity, I trust, will be excused, for the sake of its humorous quaintness.

Bishop Andrews, on account of his learning, his excellent moral character, and his high consideration at court, as well as with his cotemporaries at large, is justly regarded as one of the chief corrupters of the pulpit eloquence of his time.

The following inscription is found under a print of the bishop, prefixed to his sermons and it will serve to shew the extravagant estimate once formed of his writings.

The lineaments of art have well set forth,
Some outward features, though no inward worth;

But to these lines his writings added can
Make up the fair resemblance of a man.
For as the body's form is pictured here,
So there the beauties of his soul appear,
Which I had praised, but that in this place,
To praise them, were to praise him to his face.

DONNE.

JOHN DONNE, divine and poet, was born in London in 1573. He was educated by a private preceptor till his eleventh year, when he was sent to Oxford, where he entered as commoner in Hart Hall. Having remained here three years, he removed to Cambridge, where he attained to considerable proficiency in the law, and other sciences; and entered with warmth upon the consideration of the controversy between the Romish and reformed churches; the result of which examination was, his conversion to the protestant faith.

In 1596 and 1597, he accompanied the earl of Essex in his expeditions against Cadiz and the Azores; and during his absence, spent several years in Italy and Spain. Soon after his return to England, he was made secretary to the lord chancellor Egerton, in which employment he continued five years.

Having taken his degree of master of arts at Cambridge, he was incorporated in the same at Oxford in 1610. About two years after, he accompanied sir Robert Drury to Paris.

James I. had a high opinion of his talents for theology, and would consent to promote him in no other line. Accordingly, at the particular instance of the king, he took orders in 1613, and was soon after appointed one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary. About the same time he was created doctor in divinity by the university of Cambridge, also at the particular recommendation of the king. In 1620-1, he was advanced to the deanery of St. Paul's. He died in 1631.

1. His first prose work, and probably his best, was the Pseudo-Martyr, Lond. 1610, 4to. This was written at the express command of James; and is on the subject of the disputes concerning the oaths of allegiance and supremacy then agitated. The full title is, "Pseudo-Martyr; wherein, out of certain Propositions and Gradations, this Conclusion is evicted; that those which are of the Roman Religion, in this Kingdom, may and ought to take the Oath of Allegiance."

2. "Paradoxes, Problems, Essays, Characters,

&c. to which is added, a book of Epigrams, written in Latin by the same author, translated into English by J. Maine, D. D. and also Ignatius's Conclave, a satire, translated out of the original copy, written in Latin by the same author; found lately amongst his own papers." Lond. 1653, 12mo. Parts of this collection were published at different times before.

3. Three volumes of Sermons, in folio:—the first printed in 1640; the second in 1649; the third in 1660.—In rummaging these large volumes, I have not succeeded quite to my wish in the extracts I have chosen. These sermons are celebrated for their wit and humour. The reader, I am afraid, will detect few of these distinctive marks in the specimens I have to offer. The first, in particular, is characteristic of the stile of preaching at the period, rather than of Donne's peculiar manner. From the following passage, from his fourth Sermon, one would be inclined to think that the doctor was preaching *against* christianity, instead of *for* it. Nothing, however, could be farther from his thoughts. This style of preaching very much resembles that of the methodistical preachers of modern times.

The merit of belief in Christ's Contemporaries.

Be pleased to consider this great work of believing, in the matter, what it was that was to be believed: that that Jesus, whose age they knew, must be antedated so far as that they must believe him to be older than Abraham: that that Jesus, whom they knew to be that carpenter's son, and knew his work, must be believed to have set up a frame that reached to heaven, out of which no man could, and in which any man might be saved: was it not as easy to believe, that those tears, which they saw upon his cheeks, were pearls? That those drops of blood, which they saw upon his back, were rubies? That that spittle, which they saw upon his face, was enamel? That those hands which they saw buffet him, were reached out to place him in a throne? And that that voice which they heard cry, *crucifige, crucify him*, was a *vivat rex*, long live Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews; as to believe, that from that man, that worm, and no man, ingloriously traduced as a conjurer, ingloriously apprehended as a thief, ingloriously executed as a traitor; they should look for glory, and all glory, and everlasting glory? And from that melancholick man, who was never seen to laugh in all his life, and "whose soul was heavy unto death;" they should look for joy, and all joy, and everlasting joy: and for salva-

tion, and everlasting salvation from him, who could not save himself from the ignominy, from the torment, from the death of the cross? If any state, if any convocation, if any wise man had been to make a religion, a gospel, would he not have proposed a more probable, a more credible gospel to man's reason than this? Be pleased to consider it in the manner too: it must be believed by preaching, by *the foolishness of preaching*, says the apostle; by a few men that could give no strength to it; by ignorant men that could give no reason for it; by poor men that could give no pensions, nor preferments in it: that this should be believed, and believed thus, and believed by the world, the world that knew him not; "he was in the world, and the world knew him not:" the world that hated them, who would make them know him; "I have chosen you," says Christ, "and therefore the world hateth you:" that then when "*mundus totus in maligno positus*," the world and all the world, not only was, but was laid in malignity and opposition against Christ; that then the world, and all the world, the world of ignorance, and the world of pride, should believe the gospel; that then the Nicodemus, the learned and powerful man of the world, should stand out no longer upon their *durus sermo;* that it was a hard saying, that they must "eat his flesh, and drink his blood," and presently believe that there was no salvation, except they

did eat and drink that flesh and blood: that Mary Magdalene, who was not only tempted, (is there any that is not so?) but overcome with the temptations, (and how many are so?) and possessed with seven devils, should presently hearken after the powerful charm of the gospel, and presently believe that she should be welcome into his arms, after all her prostitutions: that the world, this world, all this world, should believe this, and believe it thus; this was the apostle's *altitudo divitiarum*, the depth of the riches of God's wisdom: and this is his *longitudo*, and *latitudo*, the breadth, and length, and height, and depth, which no man can comprehend. Theudas rose up, *dicens se esse aliquem*; he said he was somebody, and he proved nobody. Simon Magus rose up, *dicens se esse aliquem magnum*, saying he was some great body; and he proved as little. Christ Jesus rose up, and said himself not to be somebody, nor some great body; but that there was nobody else, no other name given under heaven, whereby we should be saved; and was believed. And therefore, if any man think to destroy this general, by making himself a woful instance to the contrary—Christ is not believed in all the world, for I never believed in Christ; so poor an objection requires no more answer, but that that will still be true in the general; man is a reasonable creature, though he be an unreasonable man.

There is something striking in the opening of the 5th Sermon, from the text, "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

I have seen minute glasses; glasses so short-lived. If I were to preach upon this text, to such a glass*, it were enough for half the sermon; enough to shew the worldly man his treasure, and the object of his heart, (for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also) to call his eye to that minute-glass, and to tell him, there flows, there flies your treasure, and your heart with it. But if I had a secular glass, a glass that would run an age; if the two hemispheres of the world calcined and burnt to ashes, and all the ashes, and sands, and atoms of the world put into that glass, it would not be enough to tell the godly man what his treasure and the object of his heart is. A parrot, or a stare, docile birds, and of pregnant imitation, will sooner be brought to relate to us the wisdom of a council-table, than any Ambrose, or any Chrysostome, men that have gold and honey in their names, shall tell us what the

* Allusions are common, in these sermons, to the hour-glass, which, in those times, was placed by the preacher to regulate the length of his sermon. One long-winded divine, when he had got to the end of his first hour, used to turn up the regulator, and say, "with your leave, gentlemen, we will have one glass more."

sweetness; what the treasure of heaven is, and what that man's peace, that hath set his heart upon that treasure.

His descriptive allusion, in the 21st Sermon, to the lewd courses of some of the Londoners at the time of the plague, is very awful.

No doubt but the hand of God fell upon thousands in this deadly infection, who were no more affected with it, than those Egyptians, to cry out, *omnes moriemur*, we can but die, and we must die: and, *edamus et bibamus eras moriemur*, "let us eat and drink and take our pleasure," and make our profits, "for to-morrow we shall die," and so were cut off by the hand of God; some even in their robberies, in half-empty houses, and in their drunkenness, in voluptuous and riotous houses; and in their lusts and wantonness in licentious houses; and so took in infection and death, like Judas's sop, death-dipt and soaked in sin. Men whose lust carried them into the jaws of infection in lewd houses, and seeking one sore perished with another; men whose rapine and covetousness broke into houses, and seeking the wardrobes of others, found their own winding-sheet in the infection of that house where they stole their own

death; men who sought no other way to divert sadness, but strong drink in riotous houses, and these drank up David's cup of malediction, the cup of condemned men, of death, in the infection of that place. For these men that died in their sins, that sinned in their dying, that sought and hunted after death so sinfully, we have little comfort of such men; in the phrase of this text, "they were dead," for they are dead still; as Moses said of the Egyptians, I am afraid we may say of these men, "We shall see them no more for ever."

In the next page but one are some curiously solemn reflections on the mingled dust of dead relations in that very church (St. Dunstan's) where this sermon was preached.

In this house where we stand now, the house of God and of his saints, God affords us a fair beam of this consolation, in the phrase of this text also, "they were dead." How applicable to you in this place, is that which God said to Moses, "Put off thy shoes, for thou treadest on holy ground;" put off all confidence, all standing, all relying upon worldly assurances, and consider upon what ground you tread; upon ground so holy, as that all the ground is made

of the bodies of Christians, and therein hath received a second consecration. Every puff of wind within these walls, may blow the father into the son's eyes, or the wife into her husband's, or his into her's or both into their children's, or their children's into both. Every grain of dust that flies here, is a piece of a Christian: you need not distinguish your pews by figures; you need not say, I sit within so many of such a neighbour, but I sit within so many inches of my husbands's, or wife's, or child's, or friend's grave. Ambitious men never made more shift for places in court, then dead men for graves in churches; and as in our later times, we have seen two and two almost in every place and office, so almost every grave is oppressed with twins; and as at Christ's resurrection, some of the dead arose out of their graves, that were buried again; so in this lamentable calamity, the dead were buried, and thrown up again before they were resolved to dust, to make room for more.

Lord Falkland styles Donne "one of the most witty and most eloquent of modern divines." I cannot say, that I have found his writings embossed thick enough with brilliant passages, to repay the expence of time in

searching for them. Others may be more fortunate. Donne is more celebrated as a poet, than as a prose-writer; and his talents, and particularly his wit, are generally acknowledged. His other works are:

4. Essays in Divinity, &c. being several Disquisitions interwoven with Meditations and Prayers, before he went into holy orders. Lond. 1651, 12mo. published by his son.

5. Letters to several Persons of Honour. Lond. 1654, 4to. published by his son. There are also several of his letters, and others to him from the queen of Bohemia, the earl of Carlisle, archbishop Abbot, and Ben. Jonson, printed in a book, entitled "A Collection of Letters, made by Sir Tobie Mathews, knight. 1660, 8vo."

6. "The Ancient History of the Septuagint;" translated from the Greek of Aristeas, London, 1633, 12mo. This translation was revised and corrected by another hand, and published in 1685, 8vo.

7. Βιαθανατος: or a Declaration of that Paradox or Thesis, that Self-homicide is not so naturally a Sin, that it may not be otherwise. Lond. 1644, 1648, &c. 4to. It was dedicated to lord Herbert of Cherbury.

Besides the above works, he left, according to his biographer, "The Resultance of Fourteen Hundred Authors, most of them abridged and analysed with his own hand. All the business likewise that passed of any public consequence, either in this, or any of our neighbouring nations, he abbreviated either in Latin, and in the language of that nation, and kept them by him for useful memorials. So he did the copies of divers letters and cases of conscience, that had concerned his friends, with his observations and solutions of them, and divers other matters of importance, all partically and methodically digested by him."

Walton's character of him is a very interesting one. "He was (he says) of stature, moderately tall, of a strait and equally proportioned body, to which all his words and actions gave inexpressible addition of comeliness. The melancholy and pleasant humours were in him so contempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his company one of the delights of mankind. His fancy was inimitably high, equalled only by his great wit, both being made useful by a commanding judgment. His aspect was cheerful, and such as gave a silent testimony of a

clear knowing soul, and of a conscience at peace with itself. His melting eye shewed, that he had a soft heart, full of noble compassion; of too brave a soul to offer injuries, and too much a christian not to pardon them in others. He was, by nature, highly passionate; yet very humane, and of so tender a spirit, that he never beheld the miseries of mankind without pity and relief."

JONSON.

BENJAMIN JONSON, or JOHNSON, was the son of a clergyman in Westminster, and born in 1574, about a month after his father's death. He was educated at Westminster-school, under the learned Camden; but his mother having taken a bricklayer for her second husband, removed him from school when he had made an extraordinary progress, to work under his step-father. From this tyranny of condition he soon escaped, and enlisted himself for a soldier in the army then serving against the Spaniards in the Netherlands. On his return he entered himself at St. John's College, Cambridge; but the failure of pecuniary resources obliging him soon to quit the university, he applied to the theatres for employment, yet obtained only a low situation in an obscure play-house in the suburbs. He subsequently became, as is well-known, a dramatic writer of

celebrity, and was familiarly acquainted with Shakespeare, and the wits of his time. He died in 1637.

The only prose composition of Ben. Jonson, is a small tract entitled "Discoveries, or Observations on Poetry and Eloquence."

I extract without comment, the following sensible observations:

In the difference of wits, I have observed there are many notes; and it is a little maistry to know them; to discern what every nature, every disposition will bear: for, before we sow our land, we should plow it. There are no fewer forms of minds, than of bodies amongst us. The variety is incredible; and, therefore, we must search. Some are fit to make divines, some poets, some lawyers, some physicians, some to be sent to the plough and trades.

There is no doctrine will do good where nature is wanting. Some wits are swelling and high; others low and still: some hot and fiery, others cold and dull: one must have a bridle, the other a spur.

There be some that are forward and bold; and these will do every little thing easily; I mean that is hard by, and next them, which they will utter, unretarded without any shamefastness. These never perform *much*, but *quickly*. They are what they are

on the sudden; they shew presently like grain, that scattered on the top of the ground, shoots up, but takes no root; has a yellow blade, but the ear empty. They are wits of good promise at first; but there is an *ingeni-stitium:* they stand still at sixteen, they get no higher.

You have others that labour only to ostentation; and are even more busy about the colours and surface of a work, than in the matter and foundation: for that is hid, the other is seen. Others that in composition are nothing but what is rough and broken: *Quæ per salebras, altaque saxa cadunt.* And if it would come gently, they trouble it of purpose. They would not have it run without rubs, as if that style were more strong and manly, that struck the ear with a kind of unevenness. These men err not by chance, but knowingly and willingly; they are like men that affect a fashion by themselves, have some singularity in a ruff, cloak, or hat-band; or their beards specially cut to provoke beholders, and set a mark upon themselves. They would be reprehended, while they are looked on; and this vice, one that is authority with the rest loving, delivers over to them to be imitated; so that oft-times the faults that he fell into, the others seek for: this is the danger, when vice becomes a precedent.

Others there are, that have no composition at all;

but a kind of tuning and rhyming fall in what they write. It runs and slides, and only makes a sound. Women's-poets they are called, as you have women's-taylors.

They write a verse, as smooth, as soft as cream;
In which there is no torrent, nor scarce stream.

You may sound these wits, and find the depth of them with your middle finger. They are *cream-bowl*, or but puddle.

Some that turn over all books, and are equally searching in all papers; that write out of what they presently find or meet, without choice; by which means it happens that what they have discredited, and impugned in one work, they have before, or after, extolled the same in another. Such are all the essayists, even their master, Montaigne. These in all they write, confess still what books they have read last; and therein their own folly, so much, that they bring it to the *stake* raw and undigested: not that the place did need it neither; but that they thought themselves furnished and would vent it.

Some again, who after they have got authority, or which is less, opinion, by their writings, to have read much, and dare presently to feign whole books, and authors, and lye safely. For what never was, will not easily be found; not by the most curious,

And some by a cunning protestation against all reading, and false ventitation of their own *naturals*, think to divert the sagacity of their readers from themselves, and cool the scent of their own *fox-like* thefts; when yet they are so rank, as a man may find whole pages together, usurped from one author. Their necessities compelling them to read for present use, which could not be in many books; and so come forth more ridiculously, and palpably guilty, than those, who because they cannot grace, they yet would slander their industry.

But the wretcheder are the obstinate contemners of all helps and arts; such as presuming on their own naturals, which perhaps are excellent, dare deride all diligence, and seem to mock at the terms, when they understand not the things; thinking that way to get off wittily, with their ignorance. These are imitated often by such as are their peers in negligence, though they cannot be in nature: and they utter all they can think, with a kind of violence and *indisposition;* unexamined, without relation, either to person, place, or any fitness else; and the more wilful and stubborn they are in it, the more learned they are esteemed of the multitude, through their excellent vice of judgment; who think those things the stronger that have no art; as if to break, were better than to open; or to rent asunder, gentler than to loose. * * * *

For a man to write well, there are required three necessaries.—To read the best authors; observe the best speakers; and much exercise of his own style. In style, to consider what ought to be written, and after what manner; he must first think, and excogitate his matter; then choose his words, and examine the weight of either. Then take care in placing and ranking both matter and words, that the composition be comely; and to do this with diligence and often. No matter how slow the style be at first, so it be laboured and accurate; seek the best, and be not glad of the forward conceits, or first words that offer themselves to us, but judge of what we invent, and order what we approve. Repeat often what we have formerly written; which beside that it helps the consequence, and makes the juncture better, it quickens the heat of imagination, that often cools in the time of setting down, and gives it new strength, as if it grew lustier by the going back. As we see in the contention of leaping, they jump farthest, that fetch their race largest: or, as in throwing a dart or javelin, we force back our arms, to make our loose the stronger. Yet if we have a fair gale of wind, I forbid not the steering out of our sail, so the favour of the gale deceive us not. For all that we invent doth please us in the conception or birth; else we would never set it down. But the safest is to return to our judgment, and

handle over again those things, the easiness of which might make them justly suspected. So did the best writers in their beginnings. They imposed upon themselves care and industry. They did nothing rashly. They obtained first to write well, and then custom made it easy and a habit. By little and little, their matter shewed itself to them more plentifully; their words answered, their composition followed; and all, as in a well-ordered family, presented itself in the place. So that the sum of all is, ready writing makes not good writing; but good writing brings on ready writing; yet, when we think we have got the faculty, it is even then good to resist it; as to give a horse a check sometimes with a bit, which doth not so much stop his course, as stir his mettle. Again, whether a man's genius is best able to reach thither, it should more and more contend, lift, and dilate itself, as men of low stature raise themselves on their toes; and so oft-times get even, if not eminent. Besides, as it is fit for grown and able writers to stand of themselves, and work with their own strength, to trust and endeavour by their own faculties: so it is fit for the beginner and learner, to study others and the best. For the mind and memory are more sharply exercised in comprehending another man's things, than our own; and such as accustom themselves, and are familiar with the best authors, shall ever and anon find some-

what of themselves, and in the expression of their minds, even when they feel it not, be able to utter something like theirs, which hath an authority above their own. Nay, sometimes it is the reward of a man's study, the praise of quoting another man fitly: and though a man be more prone and able for one kind of writing than another, yet he must exercise all. For, as in an instrument, so in style, there must be a harmony, and consent of parts.

I take this labour in teaching others, that they should not be always to be taught: and I would bring my precepts into practice. For rules are ever of less force and value than experiments. Yet with this purpose, rather to shew the right way to those that come after, than to detect any that have slipt before by error, and I hope it will be more profitable. For men do more willingly listen, and with more favour to precept, than reprehension. Among divers opinions of an art, and most of them contrary in themselves, it is hard to make election; and therefore, though a man cannot invent new things after so many, he may do a welcome work yet to help posterity to judge rightly of the old. But arts and precepts avail nothing, except nature be beneficial and aiding. And therefore, these things be no more written to a dull disposition, than rules of husbandry to a [barren?] soil. * * * *

Custom is the most certain mistress of language,

as the public stamp makes the current money. But we must not be too frequent with the mint, every day coining. Nor fetch words from the extreme and utmost ages; since the chief virtue of a style is perspicuity, and nothing so vicious in it as to need an interpreter. Words borrowed of antiquity do lend a kind of majesty to style, and are not without their delight sometimes. For they have the authority of years, and out of their intermission do win themselves a kind of grace-like newness. But the eldest of the present, and newness of the past language, is the best. For what was the ancient language which some men so doat upon, but the ancient custom? Yet when I name custom, I understand not the vulgar custom: for that were a precept no less dangerous to language, than life, if we should speak or live after the manners of the vulgar: but that I call custom of speech, which is the consent of the learned: a custom of life, which is the consent of the good. Virgil was most loving of antiquity, yet how rarely doth he insert *aquai* and *pictai!* Lucretius is scabrous and rough in these; he seeks them as some do Chaucerisms with us, which were better expunged and banished. Some words are to be culled out for ornament and colour, as we gather flowers to strew houses, or make garlands; but they are better when they grow to our style; as in a meadow, where

though the mere grass and greenness delight, yet the variety of flowers doth heighten and beautify. Marry, we must not play, or riot too much with them, as in Paronomasies: nor use too swelling or ill-sounding words; *quæ per salebras, altaque saxa cadunt.* It is true, there is no sound but shall find some lovers, as the bitterest confections are grateful to some palates. Our composition must be more accurate in the beginning and end, than in the midst; and in the end more than in the beginning; for through the midst the stream bears us. And this is attained by custom more than care or diligence. We must express readily and fully, not profusely. There is difference between a liberal and prodigal hand. As it is a great point of art, when our matter requires it, to enlarge and veer out all sail: so, to take it in and contract it, is of no less praise, when the argument doth ask it. Either of them hath their fitness in the place. A good man always profits by his endeavour, by his help; yea, when he is absent; nay, when he is dead, by his example and memory. So good authors in their style. A strict and succinct style is that, where you can take away nothing without loss, and that loss to be manifest. The brief style is that which expresseth much in little. The concise style which expresseth not enough, but leaves somewhat to be understood. The abrupt style

which hath many breaches, and doth not seem to end, but fall. The congrument and harmonious fitting of parts in a sentence, hath almost the fastening, and force of knitting and connexion: as in stones well-squared, which will rise strong a great way without mortar. Periods are beautiful when they are not too long; for so they have their strength too, as in a pike or javelin. As we must take the care that our words and sense be clear; so if the obscurity happen through the hearer's or reader's want of understanding, I am not to answer for them; no more than for their not listening or marking; I must neither find them ears, nor mind. But a man cannot put a word so in fence, but something about it will illustrate it, if the writer understand himself. For order helps much to perspicuity, as confusion hurts. *Rectitudo lucem adfert; obliquitas et circumductio offuscat.* We should, therefore, speak what we can, the nearest way, so as we keep our gate, not leap: for too short may as well be not let into the memory, as too long not kept in. Whatsoever looseth the grace and clearness, converts into a riddle; the obscurity is marked, but not the value. That perisheth and is past by, like the pearl in the fable. Our style should be like a skein of silk, to be carried, and found by the right thread, not ravelled and perplexed; then all is a knot, a heap. There are words,

that do as much raise a style, as others can depress it. Superlation and over-muchness amplifies. It may be above faith, but never above a mean. It was ridiculous in Cestius, when he said of Alexander:

Fremit oceanus, quasi indignetur, quòd terras relinquas;

but propitiously from Virgil:

——*credas innare revulsas Cycladas.*

He doth not say it *was* so, but *seemed* to be so. Although it be somewhat incredible, that is excused before it be spoken. But there are hyperboles, which will become one language, that will by no means admit another. As *Eos esse P. R. exercitus, qui cœlum possint perrumpere:* who would say with us, but a bad man. Therefore, we must consider in every tongue what is used, what received. Quintilian warns us, that in no kind of translation, or metaphor, or allegory, we make a turn from what we began: as if we fetch the original of our metaphor from sea and billows, we end not in flames and ashes: it is a most foul inconsequence. Neither must we draw out our allegory too long, lest either we make ourselves obscure, or fall into affectation, which is childish. But why do men depart at all from the right and natural ways of speaking? Sometimes

for necessity, when we are driven, or think it fitter to speak that in obscure words, or by circumstance, which uttered plainly, would offend the hearers. Or to avoid obsceneness, or sometimes for pleasure and variety; as travellers turn out of the highway drawn either by the commodity of a foot path, or the delicacy or freshness of the fields. And all this is called σχημαλισμενη, or figured language.

Language most shews a man: speak, that I may see thee. It springs out of the most retired and inmost parts of us, and is the image of the parent of it, the mind. No glass renders a man's form or likeness so true, as his speech. Nay, it is likened to a man; and as we consider feature, and composition in a man, so words in language; in the greatness, aptness, sound, structure, and harmony of it. Some men are tall and big; so some language is high and great. Then the words are chosen, their sound ample, the composition full, the absolution plenteous, and poured out, all grave, sinewy, and strong. Some are little and dwarfs; so of speech, it is humble and low; the words poor and flat; the members and periods thin and weak, without knitting or number. The middle are of a just stature. There the language is plain and pleasing: even without stopping, round without swelling; all well-turned, composed, elegant, and accurate. The vicious language

is vast and gaping, swelling and irregular; when it contends to be high, full of rock, mountain, and pointedness: as it affects to be low, it is abject, and creeps, full of bogs and holes. And according to their subject, these styles vary and lose their names: for that which is high and lofty, declaring excellent matter, becomes vast and tumorous, speaking of petty and inferior things; so that which was even and apt, in a mean and plain subject, will appear most poor and humble in a high argument. Would you not laugh to meet a great councellor of state in a flat cap, with his trunk hose, and a hobby-horse cloak, his gloves under his girdle; and yond haberdasher in a velvet gown, furred with sables? There is a certain latitude in these things, by which we find the degrees.

The next thing to the stature, is the figure and feature in language: that is, whether it be round and strait, which consists of short and succinct periods, numerous and polished; or square and firm, which is to have equal and strong parts, every thing answerable, and weighed.

The third is the skin and coat, which rests in the well-joining, cementing, and coagmentation of words; when as it is smooth, gentle, and sweet; like a table upon which you may run your finger without rubs, and your nail cannot find a joint; nor horrid, rough,

wrinkled, gaping, or chapt: after these, the flesh, blood, and bones come in question. We say it is a fleshy style, when there is much periphrases, and circuit of word; and when, with more than enough, it grows fat and corpulent; *Arvina orationis*, full of suet and tallow. It hath blood and juice, when the words are proper and apt, their sound sweet, and the phrase neat and picked. *Oratio uncta et bene pasta.* But where there is redundancy, both the blood and juice are faulty and vicious. *Redundat sanguine, quia multò plus dicit quàm necesse est.* Juice in language is somewhat less than blood; for if the words be but becoming, and signifying, and the sense gentle, there is juice; but where that wanteth, the language is thin, flagging, poor, starved; scarce covering the bone, and shews like stones in a sack. Some men, to avoid redundancy, run into that; and while they strive to have no ill blood, or juice, they lose their good. There be some styles again, that have not less blood, but less flesh and corpulence. These are bony and sinewy: *Ossa, habent et nervos.*

Ben. Jonson's works complete were published, 1716, in 6 vols, 8vo. and in 1756, in 7 vols, 8vo. Dryden, in his Essay on Dramatic

Poesy, stiles Ben. Jonson the greatest man of the last age; meaning as a dramatic writer; but the moderns are by no means disposed to award him applause so pre-eminent. It is unfortunate for the fame of Jonson, that he is almost inevitably viewed in connection with Shakespeare, in comparison with whom, a giant may sink into a pigmy. But the observation and judgment discovered in the above remarks, prove him to have possessed a mind of no ordinary stamp.

COTTON.

Sir Robert Cotton, antiquarian and historian, son of Thomas Cotton, Esq. was descended of an ancient family, and born at Denton in Huntingdonshire, in 1570. He was of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he proceeded B. A. in 1585.

His inclination was directed early to antiquities; and removing to London, he was soon admitted into the society of antiquaries, which improved his opportunities for prosecuting his favorite studies. On the accession of James I. he was created a knight, and during the whole of that reign, his authority was deservedly very high relative to points of history and antiquity. Sir Robert distinguished himself, too, by promoting the project of creating a new order of knights, stiled baronets, which was one of the expedients resorted to by king

James, to supply the deficiencies of the royal revenue, which had been prodigally squandered. For his exertions Cotton was rewarded with a baronetsy: and he was the twenty-ninth baronet that was created. He died at Westminster, in 1631.

The works of sir Robert Cotton are numerous.

1. "A Brief Abstract of the Question of Precedency between England and Spain." This tract was occasioned by Elizabeth expressing a desire to know the ideas of the antiquarian society relative to that point; and is still extant in the Cotton-library.

2. Being appointed in the year 1608, one of the commissioners to enquire into the state of the navy, which had been neglected since the death of Elizabeth, he drew up on this occasion, "A Memorial of their Proceedings," to be presented to the king. This piece is also reposited in the Cottonian library.

3. "A Discourse of the Lawfulness of Combats to be performed in the presence of the King or the Constable and Marshal of England," written in 1609, and printed in 1651, and in 1672.

4. The same year he wrote, "An Answer to

such Motives as were offered by certain Military Men to Prince Henry, to incite him to affect Arms more than Peace;" composed by order of that prince, and remaining still in MS. in his library.

5. " A Vindication of the Behaviour and Actions of Mary, Queen of Scots, from the Misrepresentations of Buchanan and Thuanus." This was written at the request of king James, and is supposed to be interwoven either in Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, or printed at the end of Camden's Epistles.

6. In the reign of James the numbers and activity of the catholics being so formidable as to give just cause of alarm to the nation, his majesty, in 1616, commissioned Cotton to examine whether it was authorized by the laws of the land, either to imprison or put them to death? In the investigation of this subject, sir Robert displayed great legal and constitutional knowledge, and produced *twenty-four arguments* against proceeding to extremity with the papists. These arguments were published in 1672, among *Cottoni Posthuma.*

7. Probably about the same time he composed a tract relative to the same subject, still in MS. in the royal library, entitled, " Consi-

derations for the repressing of the Increase of Priests, Jesuits, and Recusants, without drawing blood."

8. "A Remonstrance of the Treaties of Amity," &c. This piece was written at the time when the match between prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain was in agitation, and at the instance of the House of Commons. He was desired to prove by an examination of the treaties between England and the house of Austria, the insincerity and unfaithfulness of the latter; and that in all her transactions, her sole object had been universal monarchy. This tract is printed among *Cottoni Posthuma.*

9. "An Answer to certain Arguments raised from supposed Antiquity, and urged by some Members of the LowerHouse of Parliament, to prove that Ecclesiastical Laws ought to be enacted by temporal Men." This was a vindication of our ecclesiastical constitution against the innovations of the Puritans.

10. "A Relation to prove that the Kings of England have been pleased to consult with their Peers in the great Council and Commons of Parliament, of Marriage, Peace, and War." It was written in 1621, and printed in 1651 and 1672, among *Cottoni Posthuma;* also, in 1679,

under the title of "The Antiquity and Dignity of Parliaments."

11. "A Relation of the Proceedings against Ambassadors, who have miscarried themselves and exceeded their Commission."

12. "That the Sovereign's Person is required in the great Councils or Assemblies of the States, as well at the Consultations as at the Conclusions."

13. "The Argument made by the command of the House of Commons out of the Acts of Parliament and Authority of Law expounding the same, at a Conference with the Lords, concerning the Liberty of the Person of every Freeman."

14. "A brief Discourse concerning the Power of the Peers and Commons of Parliament in point of Judicature." The four last are also printed in *Cottoni Posthuma.*

15. "A short View of the long Life and Reign of Henry III. King of England, written in 1614, and presented to James I." It was printed in 1627, 4to. and reprinted in *Cottoni Posthuma.*

16. "Money raised by the King without Parliament, from the Conquest until this day, either by Imposition, or Free Gift, taken out

of Records or Ancient Registers." Printed in the Royal Treasury of England, or General History of Taxes, by Captain James Stephens, 8vo.

17. " A Narrative of Count Gundamor's Transactions during his Embassy in England." Lond. 1659, 4to.

Besides these, he wrote on various other subjects, some of which are the following: Of Scrutage; Of Enclosures and converting Arable Land into Pasture; Of the Antiquity, Authority, and Office of the High Steward and Marshal of England; Of the Antiquity, Etymology, and Privileges of Castles; Of Towns; Of the Measures of Land; Of the Antiquity of Coats of Arms; Of Curious Collections; Of Military Affairs; Of Trade; Collections out of the Rolls of Parliament;—different from those that were printed, but falsely, under his name, in 1657, by Wm. Prynne, esq. He likewise collected materials for " The History and Antiquities of Huntingdonshire;" and conceived the project of writing An Account of the State of Christianity in these Islands, from the first Reception of it here, to the Reformation. The first part of this design was executed by archbishop Usher, in his book,

"*De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Primordiis*," composed probably at the request of sir Robert, who left eight volumes of collections for the continuation of the work. Many of the compositions last mentioned are still in MS. There are a few papers, moreover, among the "Discourses of Eminent Antiquaries," published by Hearne. One of these, as being short and complete, is well adapted for a specimen.

Of the Antiquity of Motts and Words, with Arms of Noblemen and Gentlemen of England.

If I strait this question to the common acceptance, my discourse must be to you, as the question is to me, slender and strait. But if I take liberty to wrest it whither the letter will lead me, as to impresses of which nature, arms, with their words, are, it will grow more tedious than the time wherein so many must deliver their opinion, will permit. And therefore, to fashion the one to the other, both to my own ignorance, I shall fit the time though not the question. And first, I must intreat you to allow for antiquity of arms, which is the supportation of our mott or word, that all significant portratures painted in shields, were and are accounted

arms and *insignia*. The original doubtless, whereof, first grew from the Egyptian Hieroglyphicks, by which means, purposes were delivered by natural characters: as in writing, for fortitude, they formed a lion; lust, a goat; watchfulness, an owl. Hence men, to depicture their virtuous affections, used on their shields some of these significant figures, adding no mott nor word at the first, in that so long as the tradition of that natural learning lived in men's practice, it was needless; but after the secret mysteries of those bodies (for so Jovius termeth the painted forms,) were worn from their true understanding, to serve only for a distinction of person or families, (for so now arms are) they were allured to add thereunto a soul to that senseless body; for so he entitleth the mott or word, concluding it now necessary that the one must accompany the other, under certain limitation, as that the one must not be above three words, the other not charged with many differing signs or colours, which we hold still a secret of good heraldry. These arms or impresses are either to private persons, or families; the first more ancient, for he that did formerly person a king, bore in his shield, as note of sovereignty, some beast or bird royal. So did Agamemnon[1] at Troy, a lion; the like did Fergusius[2] the Scott, since received by the kings

[1] Pausanias. [2] Boethius.

of that country; Cæsar an eagle, as emperor, since appropered to the Empire to this day. Amongst all our English, king Arthur is by Vincentius said to bear ensign of sanctity and religion, the figure of our lady, upon his shield. Cadwalador, for his fierceness, a dragon. Divers of our Saxon kings, for their devotion, a cross; as St. Edward. And some for their principality and rule, leopards and lions; as our kings since the Norman conquest. But for a word annexed to any impress or arms, I cannot remember any here, before Henry II. who is by some writers observed to bear a sword and olive branch together, wreathed with this word, *utrumque*. Such a like in regard of the connexity, though not in like sense, was that dolphin twisted upon an anchor on Vespasian's coin, with this word, *festina lente*. Richard I. used a mailed arm, holding a shivered lance, the word, *labor viris convenit*. Edward IV. his white rose closed in an imperial crown, the word, *rosa sine spinâ*. Edward VI. a sun shining, the word, *idem per diversa*. Queen Mary, a sword erected upon an altar, *pro aræ et regni custodiâ;* but more subtle than any of these, was that of the last Scotch queen Mary, who, after her French marriage, stamped a coin whereon the one side was the impaled arms of Scotland and France, on the other, between two Islands and a starry heaven, two crowns imperial, the word, *aliamque moratur*. Thus much for impresses personal and

not hereditary. For such as follow families, I think they cannot prove very ancient, since Paulus Jovius plainly delivereth, that the first that annexed that note of dignity to a family, was Frederick Barbarossa to his best deserving soldiers, which falleth to be in *anno* 1152, and the 17 of our king Stephen; from which ground it may seem our kings assumed it near that time, for I find no badge of any family until king John; no, not of any of our kings upon their seals, before Richard I; and for any mott or word used to any such arms, I note none before that of Edward III, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, proper only to his order, until Henry the Eighth's time; whence from, I take, we borrow those sentences or words which I pass to remember, in regard of their multitude, since they fall fitter to those better students of arms to observe.

Though the praise of extraordinary industry and of considerable learning cannot justly be withheld from sir Robert Cotton; still, it is unquestionable, that posterity is infinitely more indebted to him as a collector of ancient literary monuments, than as an author; and he is accordingly more celebrated for his invaluable library, than for all his writings.

The subject of the Cotton-library is familiar to every informed reader; but as its history is so closely connected with that of our national literature, particularly the historical department of it, a page or two may not be deemed improperly employed, in a work of this nature, in giving a brief account of that famous collection.

Sir Robert began his collections as early as his eighteenth year; and Camden, whom he accompanied to Carlisle in 1600, acknowledges his services in the compilation of his *Britannia*. The Cotton-library consists wholly of manuscripts. At the time of their purchase, many of them were in loose skins, small tracts, or very thin volumes; of such he caused several to be bound in a single cover. They relate especially to the history and antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland; enriched, however, with whatever could be procured, that was curious or valuable, in every other branch of literature. At this period, the contents of our monastic libraries, as likewise many other valuable remains of ancient learning, (saved from the wreck of the university and college libraries at the puritanical visitations of those seminaries,) lay dispersed in numerous hands,

Several antiquarians before Cotton, as Joscelline, Noel, Allen, Lambarde, Bowyer, Elsinge, Camden, and others, had diligently collected portions of the scattered fragments. Sir Robert, availing himself of their researches, obtained possession, either by legacy or purchase, of all that was valuable in their several collections. The whole, together with the fruits of his own industry, he reposited in his own house, near the House of Commons, at Westminster. This collection was much augmented by his son and grandson, sir Thomas, and sir John Cotton.

In the reign of king William, an act of parliament was made for the better securing and preserving this library in the name and family of the Cottons, for the benefit of the public, in order to prevent its being sold, or otherwise disposed of. Cotton-house was subsequently purchased, by queen Ann, of sir John, great grandson of sir Robert Cotton, as a common repositary for the royal and Cottonian libraries, when an act was passed for the better securing of her majesty's purchase, and both house and library were settled and vested in trustees. The books were removed into a more commodious room, the

former being damp; and Cotton-house was appropriated to the use of the king's library-keeper, who had now the care of both libraries. The Cottonian library was removed, some years after, into a house near Westminster Abbey, purchased by the crown of lord Ashburnham, where one hundred and eleven books were destroyed by an accidental fire, on the 23d of October, 1731, and ninety-nine others rendered imperfect. Upon this, it was conveyed to the new dormitory, and afterwards to the old dormitory, belonging to Westminster School. It is now reposited, as is well known, in the British Museum.

PURCHAS.

SAMUEL Purchas, a learned divine, but chiefly known as the compiler of a very valuable collection of voyages, was born at Thaxstead in Essex, in 1577. He was educated at Cambridge, probably at St. John's College, since a record exists in that college, certifying that one — Purchas took his degree of master of arts in 1600. He was presented by the king to the vicarage of East-Wood, Essex, in 1604; but afterwards resigned it in favour of his brother, for the more convenient literary residence of London. In 1615, he was incorporated at Oxford bachelor of divinity; having been somewhat previously collated, by King, bishop of London, to the rectory of St. Martin's Ludgate, in London.

He was also chaplain to Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury; and died about the year 1628.

1. The first volume of his laborious compilation, was published in 1613, with the following title. "Purchas, his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World, and the Religions observed in all Ages and Places discovered, from the Creation unto this present; in four parts. The first containeth a theological and geographical history of Asia, Africa, and America, with the islands adjacent. Declaring the ancient religions before the flood, the Heathenish, Jewish, and Saracenical, in all ages since, in those parts professed, with their several opinions, idols, oracles, temples, priests, fasts, feasts, sacrifices, and rites religious; their beginnings, proceedings, alterations, sects, orders, and successions. With brief descriptions of the countries, nations, states, discoveries, private and public customs, and the most remarkable rarities of nature or human industry in the same."

The fourth edition, which is the best, much enlarged, was published in 1626, and addressed to archbishop Abbot. In his dedication, he observes: Great is this burthen of a two-fold world, and requires both an Atlas

and an Hercules too, to undergo it. The newness also, makes it more difficult, being an enterprize never yet (to my knowledge) by any, in any language, attempted; conjoining thus, antiquity and modern history, in the observations of all the rarities of the world, and especially of that soul of the world, religion. Yet have I adventured, and (I speak it not to boast, but to excuse myself, in so haughty designs) this my first voyage of discovery, besides mine own poor stock laid thereon, hath made me indebted to *above twelve hundred authors,* of one or other kind, in I know not how many hundredths of their treatises, epistles, relations, and histories of divers subjects and languages, borrowed by myself; beside what (for want of the authors themselves) I have taken upon trust of other men's goods in their hands." This edition is moreover enlarged by an addition of the maps of Mercator and Hondius.

The whole of this great work is comprehended in five volumes, folio; of which the four last were published in 1625, under the following title: "*Hakluytus Posthumus,* or Purchas, his Pilgrims; containing a history of the world, in sea-voyages, and land travels,

by Englishmen and others. Wherein God's wonders in nature and providence, the acts, arts, varieties, and vanities of men, with a world of the world's rarities, are by a world of eye-witness-authors related to the world. Some left written by Mr. Hakluyt at his death, more since added, his also perused and perfected. All examined, abbreviated, illustrated with notes, enlarged with discourses, adorned with pictures, and expressed in maps. In four parts, each containing five books.

Part 1, contains the voyages and peregrinations made by ancient kings, patriarchs, apostles, philosophers, and others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the known world; enquiries also of languages, and religions, especially of the modern diversified professions of Christianity. A description of all the circum-navigations of the globe. Navigations and voyages of Englishmen along the coasts of Africa, to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to the Red Sea, &c. English voyages beyond the East Indies, to Japan, China, Cochin-China, the Philippine Islands, &c. The English affairs with the Great *Samorine*, (Mógul,) in the Persian and Arabian Gulphs, and in other places of the

continent, and islands of and beyond the Indies. The Portugal attempts, and Dutch disasters, &c.

Part 2. Navigations, voyages, and land-discoveries, with other historical relations of Africa, and of the sea-coasts and inland regions of Ethiopia, by Englishmen and others. Peregrinations andtravels by land in Palestina, Natolia, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and other parts of Asia. Discoveries by land, of Assyria, Armenia, Persia, India, Arabia, and other inland countries of Asia, by Englishmen and others.

Part 3. Peregrinations and discoveries in the remotest North and East parts of Asia, called Tartaria and China; and of Europe, as Russia, &c. by Englishmen and others. Voyages and discoveries in the north parts of the world, by land and sea, in Asia, Europe, the polar regions, and in the north west of America. Relations of Greenland, Groenland, the north-west passage, and other arctic regions. Voyages and travels to and in the New World, called America: relations of their Pagan antiquities, and of the regions and plantations in the north and south parts thereof, and of the seas and islands adjacent.

[Near the end of this volume, is the book of the Indians, with Mexican hieroglyphics, or pictures cut in wood, which were purchased by Hakluyt, when chaplain to the English ambassador in France, for twenty crowns.]

Part 4. Voyages to the East, West, and South Parts of America; many sea and land fights, invasions, and victories against the Spaniards, in those parts and the Spanish islands; plantations in Guiana, and adventures of Englishmen amongst the Americans. Voyages to and about the Southern America. Voyages to, and land travels in Florida, Virginia, and other parts of the Northern America. French plantings; Spanish supplantings; English Virginian voyages, and to the islands Azores. English plantations, discoveries, acts, and occurrents, in Virginia and Summer Islands, since the year 1606, till 1624. English discoveries and plantations in New England, and Newfoundland; with the patent and voyages to New Scotland. Relations also of the fleets set forth by Queen Elizabeth against the Spaniards."—This work has never been reprinted, from its magnitude and the consequent expence which would at-

tend it. Large extracts or fragments of it, however, have been inserted in the subsequent collections of voyages by Harris and others.

Of the festival solemnities, and of the magnificence of the Grand Khan. Book 4, *Chap.* 14, *edit.* 1617.

We have already spoken of the solemn sacrifice observed on the eight and twentieth day of August. We read in our author, *Marcus Paulus*, an eye-witness of these his relations, of other the grand Khan's grand solemnities; of which two are principal; one on his birth-day, which in Cublai Khan's time, was the eight and twentieth of September; on which himself was royally clothed in cloth of gold, and twenty thousand of his barons and soldiers were all apparelled in one colour, and like (excepting the price) to himself, every one having a girdle wrought of gold and silver, and a pair of shoes. Some of their garments richly set with pearls and jewels, which they wear on the thirteen solemnities, according to the thirteen moons of the year. On this day all the Tatars, and several princes subject, present him with rich gifts; and all sects of religions pray unto their Gods for his health and long life.

But their chief feast is on the first day of their

year, which they begin in February, celebrated by the grand Khan and all the countries subject to him; in which they are all arrayed in white, a colour, in their estimation, portending good luck. And then he is presented with many cloths and horses of white colour, and other rich presents, in the same religiously observing the number of nine; as nine times nine horses, if they be able; and so of pieces of gold, cloth, and the rest. Then also the elephants (which are about five thousand) are brought forth in sumptuous furniture; and camels covered with silk. And in the morning they present themselves in the hall as many as can, the rest standing without in their due order. First, those of the imperial progeny; next, the kings, dukes, and others, in their due place. Then cometh forth a great man or prelate, which cryeth out with a loud voice; "bow down yourselves and worship," which they presently do, with their faces to the earth. This prelate addeth, "God save and preserve our Lord, long to live with joy and gladness." They all answer, "God grant it." The prelate again; "God increase his dominion, and preserve in peace all his subjects, and prosper all things in all his countries." Whereunto they answer as before. Thus do they worship four times. After this, the said prelate goeth to an altar there, richly adorned; on which is a red table, with the name of the great Khan written in it, and

a censer with incense; which he incenseth, instead of them all, with great reverence performed unto the table. This done, they return to their places, and present their gifts, and after are feasted.

When Cublai had overthrown Naiam his uncle (as before is said) understanding that the Christians observed their yearly solemnity of Easter, he invited them all to come unto him, and to bring the book of the four gospels, which he incensed often with great ceremonies, devoutly kissing it, and caused his barons to do the like. And this he observeth alway in the principal feasts of the Christians, as Christmas and Easter. The like he did in the chief feasts of the Saracens, Jews, and Idolaters. The cause (he said) was because of those four prophets to which all the world doth reverence. Jesus of the Christians, Mahomet of the Saracens, Moses of the Jews, and Sogomambar Khan, the first idol of the Pagans. And I, (saith he) do honour to them all, and pray him, which is the greatest in heaven, and truest, to help me. Yet, he had best opinion of the Christian faith, because it contained nothing but goodness; and would not suffer the Christians to carry before them the cross, on which so great a man as Christ was crucified. He also sent Nicolo and Maffio, the father and uncle of Marco Paulo, our author, in embassage to the pope, to send him a hundred wise men, which might convince the idolaters, that

boasted of those their magical wonders, whereas, the Christians that were there were but simple men, not able to answer them; which if it had been effected, he and his barons would have been baptized. Thomas a Jesu, a Jesuit, in his second book, "Of procuring the Conversion of all Nations," reporteth that Clement the First ordained *John a Monte Corvino*, a minorite, archbishop of Cambalu, and nine other of the same order he consecrated bishops, and took order for the successor of the archbishop, when he died. Whether these went or no, is uncertain. Great pity it is, that the Jesuits, men of so refined wits, and such mighty miracle-mongers (our world must witness the one, and the east and west the other) were but of yesterday's hatching, and that Ignatius had not broken his leg before those times. These had been, (if they then had been) the only men to have removed those objected scandals of the simplicity of Christians, and to have confronted these magical mountebanks, as the Khan here required. But these were reserved for times more fatal to the Pope, to help at a dead lift, by pervertings here, and convertings there, to hold up the supposed sanctity of the triple diadem. But look we to our Tatars.

Odoricus saith, that in his time, the Khan celebrated, besides the former, the feasts of his circumcision, marriage, and coronation. But before the

conquest of Cathay, they observed not any day at all with festival solemnities.

Cublai Khan was of mean stature, of countenance white, red, and beautiful. He had four wives, which kept several courts, the least of which contained at least ten thousand persons. He had many concubines; every second year having a new choice of the fairest maidens in the province of Ungut, (most fertile, belike, of that commodity) which pass a second election at the court, and the fairest and fittest of them are committed to ladies, to prove and instruct them. Their parents hold it a great grace so to have bestowed their children, and if any of them prove not, they impute it to their disastrous planet. They hold it for a great beauty, to have their noses flat between their eyes.

In December, January, and February, he abideth at Cambalu, in the north-east province of Cathay, in a palace near to the city, builded on this manner. There is a circuit walled in, four square, each square containing eight miles, having about them a deep ditch, and in the middle, a gate. A mile inwards is another wall, which hath six miles in each square; and in the south side three gates; and as many on the north. Betwixt those walls are soldiers. In every corner of this wall, and in the midst, is a stately palace, eight in all, wherein are kept his mutions. There is a third wall within this, contain-

ing four miles square, each square taking up one mile, having six gates and eight palaces, as the former, in which are kept the grand Khan's provisions. And between these two walls are many fair trees, and meadows, stored with many beasts. Within this is the grand Khan's palace, the greatest that ever was seen, confining with the wall abovesaid on the north and south. The matter and form thereof is of such cost and art, with such appurtenances of pleasure and state, as were too long here to recite. He, for a superstitious fear, suggested by his astrologers, of a rebellion which sometime should be raised against him in Cambalu, built a new city, near thereunto, called Taidu, twenty-four miles in compass, and yet not able to receive the inhabitants of the old city; whence he removed such as might move suspicion, hither. This city was built by line, in four squares, each whereof contained six miles and three gates, so straight, that upon the wall of one gate, one might see the gate right against it. In the midst of the city is a great bell, which is rung in the night, to warn them to keep within doors. The great Khan hath 12,000 horsemen, under four captains, to his guard. He keepeth leopards, wolves, and lions, to hunt with, and with them to take wild asses, bears, harts, &c. and one sort of eagles able to catch wolves. The two masters of his hunting game had ten thousand men under each of them;

the one part clothed in red, the other in sky-colour. And when the emperor hunteth, one of these captains goeth with his men and dogs on the right-hand, the other on the left, compassing a great quantity of ground, that not a beast can escape them. From October to March, they are bound daily to send in a thousand head of beasts and birds. He hath also, when he travelleth, ten thousand falconers, divided in divers companies, himself abiding in a chamber carried upon four elephants, whence he may see the game, having also his tents pitched for his solace near thereby. None may carry hawk or hunting-dog out of his dominion, nor may hawk or hunt near the court, by many days journeys; nor at all in their times of breeding, from March to October.

But he that list to be more fully informed herein, let him read M. Paulus and others, which have written of this argument. It is religion to us, further to suspend our discourse of religion.

The portion which Hakluyt contributed to these four volumes, amounts perhaps, in the whole, to about a volume; and consists of his MS. remains, of which Purchas got posses-

sion, and which he has dispersed in different places throughout the work. Hakluyt was descended of an ancient family at Eyton in Herefordshire, and born in 1553. He was educated at Westminster, and at Christ-Church in Oxford; and was famous for his extensive knowledge of the naval history of England. That he might prosecute his favourite studies to greater advantage, he made himself master, at Oxford, not only of the Latin and Greek, but of the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French languages; he became so distinguished for his skill in geography, and the branches of science and information connected with it, that he was appointed to read lectures on those subjects in the university; and was the first who introduced maps, globes, spheres, and other instruments relating to the same sciences, into the common schools.

Besides his MS. remains, interspersed with Purchas's writings, the public is indebted to him for several other works; as 1. A Collection of Voyages and Discoveries, published in 1582. 2. A translation from the French of "The notable History of Florida." 1587. 3. A new edition of the *De Orbe Novo* of Peter Martyr, illustrated with marginal notes, a commodious

index, a map of New England and America; 1587. 4. His Naval History of Britain, his most important work, was published in 1589, in one vol. folio. In this he has amassed, translated, and digested all voyages, journals, narratives, patents, letters, instructions, &c. relative to the English navigations. He died in 1616.

2. Purchas was likewise the author of two or three other works. 1. Purchas his Pilgrim. 2. Microcosmus, or the History of Man, &c. Meditated on the words of David, Psalm 39. 5. being a funeral sermon. 3. The King's Tower and Triumphant Arch of London.

BURTON.

Robert Burton, author of the Anatomy of Melancholy, son of Ralph Burton, of an ancient and genteel family at Lindley in Leicestershire, was born in 1576. He was initiated in learning at Sutton Coldfield, in Warwickshire, whence he was removed, in 1593, to Brazen-nose College, Oxford. In 1599, he was elected student of Christ Church, and the vicarage of St. Thomas, in the west suburb of Oxford, was conferred upon him by the dean and canons of Christ Church; as likewise the rectory of Segrave in Leicestershire, in 1636, by George, Lord Berkeley. He died at his college of Christ Church, in 1639-40, at or very near the time which he had some years before foretold, from the calculation of his own nativity. "The time," says Wood, "being exact, several of the students did not for-

bear to whisper among themselves, that rather than there should be a mistake in the calculation, he sent up his soul to heaven through a slip about his neck."

The Anatomy of Melancholy is written under the assumed name of *Democritus Junior.* In his address to the reader, after a brief delineation of the character of Democritus, he proceeds to give the following account of himself, assigning his reasons for the assumption of his name.

But, in the mean time, how doth this concern me, or upon what reference do I usurp his habit? I confess, indeed, that to compare myself unto him, for ought I have yet said, were both impudency and arrogancy. Yet thus much I will say of myself, and that I hope without all suspicion of pride or self-conceit, I have lived a silent, sedentary, solitary, private life, *mihi et musis,* in the university, as long almost as Xenocrates in Athens, *ad senectam fere,* to learn wisdom as he did, penned up most part in my study: for I have been brought up a student in the most flourishing college of Europe, *augustissimo collegio,* and can brag with Jovius, almost *in ed luce domicilii Vaticani, totius orbis celeberrimi per* 37 *annos multa opportunaque didici;* for thirty years I have continued (having the use of as good libraries as ever he

had) a scholar, and would be therefore loth, either by living as a drone, to be an unprofitable or unworthy member of so learned and noble a society, or to write that which should be any way dishonourable to such a royal and ample foundation. Something I have done: though by my profession a divine, yet *turbine raptus ingenii*, as he said, out of a running wit, an inconstant unsettled mind, I had a great desire (not able to attain to a superficial skill in any) to have some smattering in all, to be *aliquis in omnibus, nullus in singulis;* which Plato commends, out of him Lipsius approves, and furthers *as fit to be imprinted in all curious wits, not to be a slave of one science, or dwell altogether in one subject, as most do, but to rove abroad*, centum puer artium; *to have an oar in every man's boat, to taste of every dish, and to sip of every cup;* which, saith Montaigne, was well performed by Aristotle, and his learned countryman, Adrian Turnebus. This roving humour (though not with like success) I have ever had, and like a ranging spaniel, that barks at every bird he sees, leaving his game, I have followed all, saving that which I should, and may justly complain and truly, *qui ubique est*, which Gesner *did in modesty;* that I have read many books, but to little purpose, for want of good method; I have confusedly tumbled over divers authors in our libraries, with small profit, for want of art, order, memory, judgment. I never

travelled but in map or card, in which my unconfined thoughts have freely expatiated, as having ever been especially delighted with the study of cosmography. Saturn was lord of my geniture, culminating, &c. and Mars principal significator of manners, in partile conjunction with mine ascendant; both fortunate in their houses, &c. I am not poor, I am not rich; *nihil est, nihil deest;* I have little, I want nothing: all my treasure is in Minerva's tower. Greater preferment as I could never get, so am I not in debt for it. I have a competency (*laus Deo*) from my noble and munificent patrons. Though I live still a collegiate student, as Democritus in his garden, and lead a monastic life, *ipse mihi theatrum*, sequestered from those tumults and troubles of the world, *et tanquam in speculâ positus* (as he said) in some high place above you all, like *stoïcus sapiens, omnia sæcula preterita præsentiaque videns, uno velut intuitur.* I hear and see what is done abroad. How others run, ride turmoil, and macerate themselves in court and country. Far from those wrangling law-suits, *aulæ vanitatem, fori ambitionem; ridere mecum soleo:* I laugh at all, *only secure, lest my suit go amiss, my ships perish,* corn and cattle miscarry, trade decay, *I have no wife nor children, good or bad, to provide for;* a mere spectator of other men's fortunes and adventures, and how they act their parts, which me thinks are diversely presented unto me, as from

a common theatre or scene. I hear new news every day: and those ordinary rumours of war, plagues, fires, inundations, thefts, murders, massacres, meteors, comets, spectrums, prodigies, apparitions, of towns taken, cities besieged in France, Germany, Turkey, Persia, Poland, &c. daily musters and preparations, and such like, which these tempestuous times afford; battles fought, so many men slain, monomachies, shipwrecks, piracies, and sea-fights; peace, leagues, stratagems, and fresh alarms—a vast confusion of vows, wishes, actions, edicts, petitions, lawsuits, pleas, laws, proclamations, complaints, grievances, are daily brought to our ears: new books every day, pamphlets, currantoes, stories, whole catalogues of volumes of all sorts, new paradoxes, opinions, schisms, heresies, controversies in philosophy, religion, &c. Now come tidings of weddings, maskings, mummeries, entertainments, jubilees, embassies, tilts and tournaments, trophies, triumphs, revels, sports, plays; then again, as in a new shifted scene, treasons, cheating, tricks, robberies, enormous villanies of all kinds, funerals, burials, death of princes, new discoveries, expeditions; now comical, now tragical matters. To day we hear of new lords and officers created, to-morrow of some great men deposed, and then again of fresh honours conferred: one is let loose, another imprisoned: one purchaseth, another breaketh: he thrives,

his neighbour turns bankrupt: now plenty, then again dearth and famine; one runs, another rides, wrangles, laughs, weeps, &c. Thus I daily hear, and such like, both private and public news. Amidst the gallantry and misery of the world, jollity, pride, perplexities and cares, simplicity and villany, subtlety, knavery, candour, and integrity, mutually mixt and offering themselves, I rub on, *privus privatus:* as I have still lived, so I now continue, *statu quo prius*, left to a solitary life, and mine own domestic discontents; saving that sometimes, *ne quid mentiar*, as Diogenes went into the city, and Democritus to the haven to see fashions, I did for my recreation now and then walk abroad, look into the world, and could not choose but make some little observation, *non tam sagax observator, ac simplex recitator*, not, as they did, to scoff or laugh at all, but with a mixt passion.

Bilem sæpe jocum vestri movere tumultus.

I did sometime laugh and scoff with Lucian, and satirically tax with Menippus, lament with Heraclitus; sometimes again I was *petulanti splene cachinno*, and then again, *urere bilis jecur*; I was much moved to see that abuse which I could not amend: in which passion, howsoever I may sympathize with him or them, it is for no such respect I shroud myself under his name; but either in an unknown habit, to

assume a little more liberty and freedom of speech, or if you will needs know, for that reason and only respect which Hippocrates relates at large in his epistle to Damegetus, wherein he doth express, how, coming to visit him one day, he found *Democritus* in his garden at Abdera, in the suburbs, under a shady bower, with a book on his knees, busy at his study, sometime writing, sometime walking. The subject of his book was melancholy and madness: about him lay the carcasses of many several beasts, newly by him cut up and anatomized; not that he did contemn God's creatures, as he told Hippocrates, but to find out the seat of this *atra bilis*, or melancholy, whence it proceeds, and how it was engendered in men's bodies, to the intent he might better cure it in himself, by his writings and observations teach others how to prevent and avoid it. Which good intent of his Hippocrates highly commended; Democritus junior is therefore bold to imitate, and because he left it imperfect, and it is now lost, *quasi succenturiator Democriti*, to revive again, prosecute, and finish in this treatise.

The following passage, which describes the commencement of melancholy, is exceedingly beautiful, rational, and just. Vol. i. p. 126.

Voluntary solitariness is that which is familiar with melancholy, and gently brings on, like a Siren, a shooing-horn, or some sphinx, to this irrevocable gulf: a primary cause Piso calls it; most pleasant it is at first, to such as are melancholy given, to lie in bed whole days, and keep their chambers, to walk alone in some solitary grove, betwixt wood and water, by a brook side, to meditate upon some delightsome and pleasant subject, which shall affect them most; *amabilis insania*, and *mentis gratissimus error*. A most incomparable delight it is so to melancholize, and build castles in the air; to go smiling to themselves, acting an infinite variety of parts, which they suppose, and strongly imagine they represent, or that they see acted or done. *Blanda quidem ab initio*, saith Lemnius, to conceive and meditate of such pleasant things sometimes, *present, past, or to come*, as Rhasis speaks. So delightsome these toys are at first, they could spend whole days and nights without sleep, even whole years alone in such contemplations and fantastical meditations, which are like unto dreams: and they will hardly be drawn from them, or willingly interrupt. So pleasant their vain conceits are, that they hinder their ordinary tasks and necessary business; they cannot address themselves to them, or almost to any study or employment: these fantastical and bewitching thoughts so covertly, so

feelingly, so urgently, so continually, set upon, creep in, insinuate, possess, overcome, distract, and detain them; they cannot, I say, go about their more necessary business, stave off or extricate themselves, but are ever musing, melancholizing, and carried along, as he (they say) that is led round about an heath with a puck in the night. They run earnestly on in this labyrinth of anxious and solicitous melancholy meditations, and cannot well or willingly refrain, or easily leave off winding and unwinding themselves, as so many clocks, and still pleasing their humours, until at last the scene is turned upon a sudden, by some bad object; and they, being now habituated to such vain meditations and solitary places, can endure no company, can ruminate of nothing but harsh and distasteful subjects. Fear, sorrow, suspicion, *subrusticus pudor*, discontent, cares, and weariness of life, surprize them in a moment; and they can think of nothing else: continually suspecting, no sooner are their eyes open, but this infernal plague of melancholy seizeth on them, and terrifies their souls, representing some dismal object to their minds, which now, by no means, no labour, no persuasions, they can avoid; *hæret lateri lethalis arundo;* they may not be rid of it; they cannot resist. I may not deny, but that there is some profitable meditation, contemplation, and kind of solitariness, to be embraced, which the fathers so highly

commended. Hierom, Chrysostome, Cyprian, Austin, in whole tracts, which Petrarch, Erasmus, Stella, and others, so much magnify in their books. A paradise, an heaven on earth, if it be used aright, good for the body, and better for the soul; as many of these old monks used it, to divine contemplation; as Simulus, a courtier in Adrian's time, Dioclesian the emperor, retired themselves, &c. In that sense, *Vatia solus scit vivere;* Vatia lives alone; which the Romans were wont to say, when they commended a country life; or to the bettering of their knowledge, as Democritus, Clanthes, and those excellent philosophers, have ever done, to sequester themselves from the tumultuous world; or as in Pliny's Villa Laurentana, Tully's Tuscula, Jovius' study, that they might better *vacare studiis et Deo;* serve God and follow their studies. Methinks, therefore, our too zealous innovators were not so well advised in that general subversion of abbeys and religious houses, promiscuously to fling down all. They might have taken away those gross abuses crept in amongst them, rectified such inconveniences, and not so far to have raved and raged against those fair buildings, and everlasting monuments of our forefathers' devotion, consecrated to pious uses. Some monasteries and collegiate cells might have been well spared, and their revenues otherwise employed, here and there one, in good towns or cities at least, for men and women

of all sorts and conditions to live in, to sequester themselves from the cares and tumults of the world, that were not desirous or fit to marry, or otherwise willing to be troubled with common affairs, and know not well where to bestow themselves, to live apart in, for more conveniency, good education, better company sake; to follow their studies (I say) to the perfection of arts and sciences, common good, and, as some truly devoted monks of old had done, freely and truly to serve God: for these men are neither solitary, nor idle, as the poet made answer to the husbandman in Æsop, that objected idleness to him; he was never so idle as in his company; or that Scipio Africanus, in Tully, *nunquam minus solus, quam quum solus; nunquam minus otiosus quam quum esset otiosus;* never less solitary than when he was alone, never more busy than when he seemed to be most idle. It is reported by Plato, in his dialogue *De Amore*, in that prodigious commendation of Socrates, how a deep meditation coming into Socrates' mind by chance, he stood still musing, *eodem vestigio cogitabundus*, from morning to noon; and when, as then he had not yet finished his meditation, *perstabat cogitans*, he so continued till the evening; the soldiers (for he then followed the camp) observed him with admiration, and on set purpose watched all night; but he persevered immoveable *ad exortum solis*, till the sun rose in the morning,

and then, saluting the sun, went his ways. In what humour constant Socrates did thus I know not, or how he might be affected; but this would be pernicious to another man; what intricate business might so really possess him, I cannot easily guess; but this is *otiosum otium*; it is far otherwise with these men, according to Seneca: *omnia nobis mala solitudo persuadet*; this solitude undoeth us; *pugnat cum vitâ sociali*; 'tis a destructive solitariness. These men are devils, alone, as the saying is, *homo solus aut deus, aut dæmon*; a man alone, is either a saint or a devil; *meus ejus aut languescit, aut tumescit*; and *væ soli!* in this sense, woe be to him that is so alone! These wretches do frequently degenerate from men, and, of sociable creatures, become beasts, monsters, inhumane, ugly to behold, *misanthropi*; they do even loathe themselves, and hate the company of men, as so many Timons, Nebuchadnezzars, by too much indulging to these pleasing humours, and through their own default. So that which Mercurialis (*consil.* 11.) sometimes expostulated with his melancholy patient, may be justly applied to every solitary and idle person in particular; "*Natura de te videtur conqueri posse,*" &c. Nature may justly complain of thee, that, whereas she gave thee a good wholesome temperature, a sound body, and God hath given thee so divine and excellent a soul, so many good parts and profitable gifts; thou hast not only contemned and

rejected, but hast corrupted them, polluted them, overthrown their temperature, and perverted those gifts with riot, idleness, solitariness, and many other ways; thou art a traitor to God and nature, an enemy to thyself and to the world. *Perditiæ tua ex te;* thou hast lost thyself wilfully, cast away thyself; thou thyself art the efficient cause of thine own misery, by not resisting such vain cogitations, but giving way unto them.

"The Anatomy of Melancholy," was first printed in quarto, 1621, and afterwards in folio. It passed through so many editions that the bookseller, as we are informed by Wood, got an estate by it.

The character of Burton, as drawn by Wood, is, "that he was an exact mathematician, a curious calculator of nativities, a general read scholar, a thorough-paced philologist, and one that understood the surveying of lands well. As he was by many accounted a severe student, a devourer of authors, a melancholy and humorous person; so by others, who knew him well, a person of great honesty, plain dealing, and charity. I have heard some of the ancients of Christ Church often say, that his

company was very merry, facete, and juvenile; and no man of his time did surpass him for his ready and dexterous interlarding his common discourses among them with verses from the poets, or sentences from classic authors; which being then all the fashion in the university, made his company the more acceptable.

"The Anatomy of Melancholy," was composed, (says Granger) with a view of relieving his own melancholy; but increased it to such a degree, that nothing could make him laugh, but going to the bridge-foot, and hearing the ribaldry of the bargemen, which rarely failed to throw him into a violent fit of laughter. Before he was overcome with this horrid disorder, he in the intervals of his vapours was esteemed one of the most facetious companions in the university.

Dr. Johnson says of this work, that "it was the only book that ever took him out of bed two hours sooner than he wished to rise." And again, "it is, perhaps, overloaded with quotations; but there is great spirit and great power in what Burton says, when he writes from his own mind."

Wharton says of it, that "the writer's va-

riety of learning, his quotations from scarce and curious books, his pedantry, sparkling with rude wit and shapeless elegance, miscellaneous matter, intermixture of agreeable tales and illustrations, and perhaps above all, the singularities of his feelings, clothed in an uncommon quaintness of style, have contributed to render it, even to modern readers, a valuable repository of amusement and information.

"The Anatomy of Melancholy," has been the source of infinite plagiarisms. The wits of queen Anne's reign, and the beginning of that of George the First, were much indebted to it; and more recently, the numerous plagiarisms of Sterne from this author have been successfully pointed out by Dr. Ferriar.

SELDEN.

JOHN SELDEN, the famed antiquarian, was born in 1584, at a small village called Salvintor, near Tering, a sea-port in Sussex. He received his early education at the free-school of Chichester, and in 1598, was admitted of Hart Hall, Oxford. In 1602, he entered at Clifford's Inn as student of the law; and two years after was admitted *socius* of the Inner Temple. Convinced, however, that his talents were not of that description which would enable him to shine at the bar, he directed his attention chiefly to the investigation of the origin of law.

He was chosen in 1623, member of parliament for Lancaster; and on the accession of Charles I. the following year, was returned a burgess for Great-Bedwin in Wiltshire. In

the parliament the year after, he was of the committee for drawing up the articles of impeachment against the duke of Buckingham. He had the principal share, too, in all the previous steps which led to the famous "Petition of Right;" but the particulars of his public character are well known. In 1643, he obtained the post of keeper of records in the Tower. On the usurpation of Cromwell, he retired from public affairs, confining himself almost entirely to literary pursuits. He died in 1654. The following is a list of his works.

1. A Treatise of the Civil Government of our Island before the coming in of the Normans; written in 1606.

2. *Jani Anglorum Facies altera.*

3. England's *Epinomis.* These two last tracts were both printed in 1610, 8vo. The former was translated into English by Dr. Adam Lyttleton, author of the Anglo-Latin, &c. Dictionary, with copious notes, under the name of Redman Westcot, Gent. Lond. 1683, folio. They contain many curious remarks upon the English history, relative to the Norman government.

4. *De Duello;* or, Of Single Combat.

5. Notes and Illustrations on the First

Eighteen Songs in Michael Drayton's Poly-olbion, 1612, folio.

6. The Titles of Honour. On this book, bishop Nicholson remarks, that, "as to what concerns our nobility and gentry, all that come within either of those lists, will allow, that Mr. Selden's 'Titles of Honour,' ought to be perused for the gaining of a general notion of the distinction of a degree, from an emperor down to a country gentleman."

7. Notes on the *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ* of sir John Fortescue, and on sir Ralph Hengham's *Sums*, 1616, 8vo.

8. Idolatry of the ancient Syrians, 1617. The Latin title is, *De Diis Syris Syntagmata duo.* This treatise was written as a commentary upon all the passages of the Old Testament where mention is made of any of the heathen gods, as Bel, Asteroth, &c. and consequently, besides the Assyrian, gives an account of the Arabian, Ægyptian, Persian, African, and European idolatry.

9. A Dissertation upon the State of the Jews, formerly living in England, 1617. This is contained in Purchas's Pilgrimage.

10. The History of Tithes: *sub Tenore Verborum sequente,* 1618. Having in this book

denied the divine right of the clergy to tithes, they were naturally much alarmed, and a complaint was preferred to the king, who was likewise so incensed, that the author was prosecuted in the High-commission-court, and obliged to acknowledge in a solemn manner, that he had been guilty of a fault in publishing that history. The book was likewise suppressed, and he was prohibited from printing any thing in its defence.

11. The history of Eadmer, 1623. The Latin title is, *Spicilegium in Eadmeri seu Libros Historiarum*; and consists of explanatory notes upon that author. The laws of the Conqueror in this book, Dr. Nicholson observes, are wretchedly translated. These, however, were afterwards published more correctly by sir Henry Spelman. Dr. Brady also published them with an English version, in his Introduction to the Old English History. But the last edition is that of Dr. David Wilkins, in his edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws.

12. Commentaries upon the Arundelian Marbles, 1628. Sir Robert Cotton, as is well known, had brought these monuments of antiquity, the year before, from Constantinople, and placed them in his house and gar-

dens in the Strand. But on their removal to Oxford, considerable errors were discovered in Selden's account of them. A new and more correct edition therefore was printed of this book, by order of the university; and a third edition has been since published by Michael Mattaire.

13. *De Jure Naturali et Gentium, juxta Disciplinam Hebræorum*, 1634.

14. *Uxor Hebraica; sive de Nuptiis et Divortiis ex Jure civili, id est divino et Thalmudico veterum Hebræorum; libri tres.* First published in 1646.

15. A Defence of the King's Dominion over the British Seas, 1636.

16 A Discourse concerning the Rights and Privileges of the Subjects, in a Conference desired by the Lords, and had by a Committee of both Houses in the year 1628.

17. The Privileges of the Baronage of England, when they sit in Parliament, 1628.

18. A brief Discourse concerning the Power of Peers and Commoners in Parliament in point of Judicature, 1628.

19. *De Anno Civili et Calendario Judaico*, 1644.

20. *Fleta seu Commentarius Juris Anglicani sic nuncupatus*, 1647.

21. *De Synedriis et Præfecturis Hebræorum*, 1650.

22. A Preface to the *Decem Scriptores Anglicanæ*; containing an account of those writers, with Remarks upon their respective Histories, in folio, 1652.

These ten writers are:

1. Simeon Dunelmensis, obiit 1150.
2. John Hagulstand, Hen. II. R. 1
3. Richard ditto, 1190.
4. Serlo, 1160.
5. Ailredus Rivalensis, 1166.
6. Radulphus de Diceto, 1210.
7. John Brompton.
8. Gervase Dorobensis, 1200.
9. Thomas Stubbs, 1360.
10. William Thorne, 1380.

To which is added,

11. Henry Knighton, 1395.

23. *Vindiciæ secundum Integritatem Existimationis suæ, &c.*

Several pieces were also published after his death; but they are not of great consequence; and as the genuineness of several of them has been doubted, they deserve not a particular enumeration. I shall therefore observe only, that an edition of his works was published by

Dr. David Wilkins, in three volumes, folio, 1725; containing several speeches, arguments, debates, and letters, never before printed.

The last piece in Wilkins's edition, is entitled, Table Talk, being a collection of miscellaneous observations on a great variety of subjects, a few of which I shall select. They are commonly amusing, often instructive; and are better adapted, perhaps, for extraction, than any other part of his works.

Changing Sides.

1. 'Tis the trial of a man to see if he will change his side; and if he be so weak as to change once, he will change again. Your country fellows have a way to try if a man be weak in the hams, by coming behind him, and giving him a blow unawares; if he bend once, he will bend again.

2. The lords that fall from the king, after they have got estates by base flattery at court, and now pretend conscience, do as a vintner, that when he first sets up, you may bring your wench to his house, and do your things there; but when he grows rich, he turns conscientious, and will sell no wine upon the sabbath day.

3. Colonel Goring serving first the one side, and then the other, did like a good miller, that knows how to grind which way soever the wind sits.

4. After Luther had made a combustion in Germany about religion, he was sent to by the pope to be taken off, and offered any preferment in the church that he would make choice of; Luther answered, if he had offered half so much at first, he would have accepted it; but now he had gone so far, he could not come back. In truth, he had made himself a greater thing than they could make him; the German princes courted him: he was become the author of a sect ever after to be called Lutherans. So have our preachers done that are against the bishops; they have made themselves greater with the people, than they can be made the other way, and therefore there is the less charity probably in bringing them off. Charity to *strangers* is enjoined in the text. By *strangers* is there understood, those that are not of our own kind; strangers to your blood, not those you cannot tell whence they come; that is, be charitable to your neighbours whom you know to be honest people.

Christians.

In the high church of Jerusalem, the Christians were but another sect of Jews, that did believe the

Messias was come. *To be called*, was nothing else, but *to become a christian*, to have the name of a christian, it being their own language; for amongst the Jews, when they made a doctor of law, 'twas said, he was *called*

2. The Turks tell their people of a heaven, where there is sensible pleasure, but of a hell where they shall suffer they do not know what. The Christians quite invert this order, they tell us of a hell where we shall feel sensible pain, but of a heaven where we shall enjoy we cannot tell what.

House of Commons.

1. There be but two erroneous opinions in the House of Commons: that the lords sit only for themselves; when the truth is, they sit as well for the commonwealth. The knights and burgesses sit for themselves and others, some for more, some for fewer. And what is the reason? Because the room will not hold all; the lords being few, they all come; and imagine the room able to hold all the commons of England; then the lords and burgesses would sit no otherwise than the lords do. The second error is, that the House of Commons are to begin to give subsidies; yet if the lords dissent, they can give no money.

2. The House of Commons is called the Lower House in twenty acts of parliament; but what are twenty acts of parliament amongst friends?

3. The form of a charge runs thus, *I accuse in the name of all the commons of England.* How then can any man be as a witness, when every man is made the accuser.

Damnation.

1. If a physician sees you eat any thing that is not good for your body, to keep you from it, he cries it is poison. If the divine sees you do any thing that is hurtful for your soul, to keep you from it, he cries you are damned.

2. To preach long, loud, and damnation, is the way to be cried up. We love a man who damns us, and we run after him again to save us. If a man had a sore leg, and he should go to an honest judicious surgeon, and he should only bid him keep it warm, and anoint with such an oil, (an oil well known) that would do the cure, haply he would not much regard him, because he knows the medicine beforehand an ordinary medicine. But if he should go to a surgeon that should tell him, your leg will gangrene within three days, and it must be cut off, and you will die, unless you do something that I

could tell you; what listening there would be to this man! Oh! for the Lord's sake, tell me what this is,—I will give you any content for your pains.

Equity.

1. Equity in law is the same that the spirit is in religion, what every one pleases to make it. Sometimes they go according to conscience, sometimes according to law, sometimes according to the rule of court.

2. Equity is a roguish thing. For law we have a measure, we know what to trust to; equity is according to the conscience of him that is chancellor, and as that is larger or narrower, so is equity. 'Tis all one, as if they should make the standard for the measure, a chancellor's foot. What an uncertain measure would this be! One chancellor has a long foot, another a short foot, a third an indifferent foot: 'Tis the same thing in the chancellor's conscience.

3. That saying, *Do as you would be done to*, is often misunderstood; for it is not thus meant, that I, a private man, should do to you, a privateman, as I would have you to me, but do as we have agreed to do one to another by public agreement. If the prisoner should ask the judge, whether he

would be content to be hanged, were he in his case, he would answer, no. Then, says the prisoner, do as you would be done to. Neither of them must do as private men, but the judge must do by him, as they have publicly agreed; that is, both judge and prisoner have consented to a law, that if either of them steal, they shall be hanged.

Evil Speaking.

1. He that speaks ill of another, commonly before he is aware, makes himself such a one as he speaks against: for if he had civility or breeding, he would forbear such kind of language.

2. A gallant man is above ill words: An example we have in the old lord of Salisbury, who was a great wise man. Stone had called some lord about court, fool; the lord complains, and has Stone whipped; Stone cries, "I might have called my lord of Salisbury fool often enough, before he would have had me whipped."

3. Speak not ill of a great enemy, but rather give him good words, that he may use you the better, if you chance to fall into his hands. The Spaniard did this when he was dying; his confessor told him, to work him to repentance, how the devil tormented the wicked that went to hell: the Spaniard replying,

called the devil, my lord; I hope my lord the devil is not so cruel: his confessor reproved him. Excuse me, said the Don, for calling him so, I know not into what hands I may fall; and if I happen into his, I hope he will use me the better, for giving him good words.

Friars.

1. The friars say they possess nothing; whose then are the lands they hold? Not their superior's, he hath vowed poverty as well as they. Whose then? To answer this, it was decreed, they should say they were the pope's. And why must the friars be more perfect than the pope himself?

2. If there had heen no friars, Christendom might have continued quiet, and things remained at a stay.

3. If there had been no lecturers, who succeed the friars in their way, the Church of England might have stood and flourished at this day.

Humility.

1. Humility is a virtue all preach, none practice, and yet every body is content to hear. The master thinks it good doctrine for his servant, the laity for the clergy, and the clergy for the laity.

2. There is *humilitas quædam in vitio.* If a man does not take notice of that excellency and perfection that is in himself, how can he be thankful to God, who is the author of all excellency and perfection? Nay, if a man hath too mean an opinion of himself, it will render him unserviceable both to God and man.

3. Pride may be allowed to this or that degree, else a man cannot keep up his dignity. In gluttons there must be eating, in drunkenness there must be drinking; it is not the eating, nor it is not the drinking, that is to be blamed, but the excess. So in pride.

Public Interest.

All might go well in the commonwealth, if every one in the parliament would lay down his own interest, and aim at the general good. If a man was sick, and the whole college of physicians should come to him, and administer to him severally, haply so long as they observed the rules of art, he might recover; but if one of them had a great deal of scammony by him, he must put off that, therefore he prescribes scammony; another had a great deal of rhubarb, and he must put off that, and therefore he prescribes rhubarb, &c. they would certainly kill

the man. We destroy the commonwealth, while we preserve our own private interests, and neglect the public.

King.

1. A king is a thing men have made for their own sakes, for quietness sake. Just as in a family one man is appointed to buy the meat; if every man should buy, or if there were many buyers, they would never agree; one would buy what the other liked not, or what the other had bought before, so there would be a confusion. But that charge being committed to one, he, according to his discretion, pleases all. If they have not what they would have one day, they shall have it the next, or something as good.

2. The word king directs our eyes. Suppose it had been consul or dictator. To think all kings alike, is the same folly, as if a consul of Aleppo or Smyrna, should claim to himself the same power that a consul of Rome. What, am not I consul? Or a duke of England should think himself like the duke of Florence. Nor can it be imagined that the word βασιλεὺς did signify the same in Greek, as the Hebrew word מלך did with the Jews. Besides, let the divines in their pulpits say what they will, they in their practice deny, that all is the

king's. They sue him, and so does all the nation whereof they are a part. What matter is it, then, what they preach or teach in the schools?

3. Kings are all individual, this or that king; there is no species of kings.

4. A king that claims privileges in his own country, because they have them in another, is just as a cook, that claims fees in one lord's house, because they are allowed in another. If the master of the house will yield them, well and good.

5. The text, *Render unto Cæsar, the things that are Cæsar's*, makes as much against kings as for them; for it says plainly, that some things are not Cæsar's. But divines make choice of it, first in flattery, and then because of the other part adjoined to it, *Render unto God the things that are God's*, where they bring in the church.

6. A king outed of his country, that takes as much upon him as he did at home in his own court, is as if a man on high, and I being upon the ground, used to lift up my voice to him, that he might hear me, at length should come down, and then expects I should speak as loud to him as I did before.

Selden was a man of very extensive learning; he is styled, even by the learned Grotius,

"the honour of the English nation;" a compliment, which from the literary celebrity of the bestower, he is said to have prized above all other marks of consideration.

But his language is little deserving of commendation. It has been observed, that it is a mixture of all that is bad, as well as good, in the Latin language. A still worse fault is, that his method is often perplexed and obscure. Yet his writings are replete with erudition and rational observation; circumstances which stamp a value upon them, which the direct opposites of the defects mentioned, unaccompanied by real information, could never have bestowed. Bacon had so high an opinion of Selden, that he desired by his will, his advice should be taken respecting the publication or suppression of his own MS. treatises.

KING JAMES.

I HAVE placed James in the rear of the worthies which honoured his reign, not precisely (as Hume states it) because that is his place when considered as an author; but because I happened not to get his article in time to come first.

The English works of James I. were published in 1616, folio, by James, bishop of Winton, and dean of his majesty's Chapel Royal. The several pieces contained in the volume are:

1. A Paraphrase upon the Revelation.

2. Two Meditations: the first upon the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th verses of the 20th chap. of the Revelation: the second upon the 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th verses of the 15th chap. of the first book of the Chronicles.

3. Dæmonology.

4. *Basilicon Doron.*—This is said to have been the work by which James gained the most reputation. It is addressed to his son Henry, and contains instructions to him, relative to the subject of government; in the theory of which, his majesty appears not to have been ignorant.

5. The true Law of free Monarchies; or the reciprocal and mutual Duty betwixt a free King, and his natural Subjects.

His majesty in his exordium to this work, very properly makes the following frank acknowledgment.

I have chosen (says he) only to set down in this short treatise, the true grounds of the mutual duty and allegiance betwixt a free and absolute monarch and his people: not to trouble your patience with answering the contrary propositions, which some have not been ashamed to set down in writ, to the poisoning of infinite number of simple souls, and their own perpetual and well-deserved infamy; for by answering them, I could not have eschewed whiles to pick and bite well saltly their persons; which would rather have bred contentiousness among the readers (as they had liked or misliked) than sound instruction of the truth: which I protest to

him that is the searcher of all hearts, is the only mark that I shoot at herein.

The plan of the work he states thus:

First then, I will set down the true grounds whereupon I am to build, out of the Scriptures, since monarchy is the true pattern of the divinity, as I have already said. Next, from the fundamental laws of our own kingdom, which nearest must concern us. Thirdly, from the law of nature, by divers similitudes drawn out of the same: and will conclude *syne*[1] by answering the most weighty and appearing incommodities that can be objected.

The following passage furnishes an amusing instance of James's despotical principles.

And now first for the father's part (whose natural love to his children I described in the first part of this my discourse, speaking of the duty that kings owe to their subjects,) consider, I pray you, what duty his children owe to him; and whether upon any pretext whatsoever, it will not be thought monstrous and unnatural to his sons to rise up

[1] since, afterwards.

against him, to controul him at their appetite; and when they think good, to slay him, or to cut him off, and adopt to themselves any other they please, in his room: or can any pretence of wickedness, or rigour on his part, be a just excuse for his children to put hand into him? And although we see by the course of nature, that love useth to descend more than ascend, in case it were true, that the father hated and wronged the children never so much, will any man, endued with the least spunk of reason, think it lawful for them to meet him with the line? Yea, suppose the father were furiously following his sons with a drawn sword, is it lawful for them to turn and strike again, or make any resistance, but by flight? I think surely, if there were no more but the example of brute beasts and unreasonable creatures, it may serve well enough to qualify and prove this my argument. We read often the piety that the storks have to their old and decayed parents; and generally we know, that there are many sorts of beasts and fowls, that with violence and many bloody strokes will beat and banish their young ones from them, how soon they perceive them to be able to fend themselves; but we never read or heard of any resistance on their part, except among the vipers; which proves such persons, as ought to be reasonable creatures, and yet unnaturally follow this example, to be endued with their viperous nature.

And for the similitude of the head and the body, it may very well fall out, that the head will be forced to *gar*[1] cut off some rotten member (as I have already said) to keep the rest of the body in integrity; but what state the body can be in, if the head, for any infirmity that can fall to it, be cut off, I leave it to the reader's judgment.

So as (to conclude this part) if the children may upon any pretext that can be imagin d, lawfully rise up against their father, cut him off, and choose any other whom they please in his room; and if the body for the weal of it, may for any infirmity that can be in the head, strike it off, then I cannot deny that the people may rebel, controul, and displace, or cut off their king at their own pleasure, and upon respects moving them. And whether these similitudes represent better the office of a king, or the offices of masters, or deacons of crafts, or doctors in physic, (which jolly comparisons are used by such writers as maintain the contrary proposition) I leave it also to the reader's discretion.

As a sort of salvo for the unqualified despotism of the preceding passage, his majesty presently adds:

Not that by all this former discourse of mine, and

[1] to make, cause.

apology for kings, I mean that whatsoever errors and intolerable abominations a sovereign prince commit, he ought to escape all punishment, as if thereby the world were only ordained for kings, and they without controulment to turn it upside down, at their pleasure; but by the contrary, by remitting them to God (who is their only ordinary judge) I remit them to the sorest and sharpest school-master that can be devised for them: for the further a king is preferred by God above all other ranks and degrees of men, and the higher that his seat is above theirs, the greater is his obligation to his maker.

The remaining pieces in the volume are:

6. A Counter-blast to Tobacco; Anonymous.

7. A Discourse of the Powder Treason. Anonymous.

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10. A Declaration against Vorstius, written

by his majesty, first in French, after translated into English by his majesty's leave.

11. A Defence of the Right of Kings, against Cardinal Perron, written by his majesty in French, and thereafter translated into English by his majesty's leave.

To the above are added five speeches on different occasions. The king wrote also various pieces, in Latin, which it were needless to particularize.

The following lines are found under the print of James, prefixed to his works.

Crowns have their compass, length of days their date,
Triumphs their tombs, felicity her fate;
Of more than earth, can earth make none partaker,
But knowledge makes the king most like his maker.

GLOSSARY.

A.

Accorden, *to agree, accord, grant.*
Accordeden, *agreed, granted.*
Adoube, *to dubb.*
Adrad, adradde, *afraid.*
Aferde, *afraid.*
Again, ageyn, *against.*
Againward, *contrariwise.*
Agasten, *to frighten, terrify.*
Algates, *always.*
Allies, *kindred.*
Almayn, *Germany.*
Angle, *to jangle.*
Antesis, *author, cause.*
Apay, *to appease.*
Appayr, appaired, *to impair, impaired.*
Appairing, *impairing.*
Appropred, *appropriated.*
Aren, arne, *are.*
Arragonars, *Arragonians.*
Artetykes, *aching of limbs.*
Artyd, *pressed, constrained.*
Assauts, *assaults.*
Assoil, assoilen, *to loose, absolve.*
Astonied, *astonished.*
Avys, *advice, opinion, understanding.*
Ayen, *again.*

B.

Barate, *barbarity?*
Baynes, *baths, or bagnios.*
Be, sometimes used for *been.*
Bedeman, *confessor.*
Behight, *foretold.*
Beir, *a shrill noise.*
Bemers, *Bohemians.*
Ben, *are, be, been, have been.*
Beryn, *to bear.*
Besmyt, *to taint, corrupt.*
Besy, *busy.*
Besynes, *business.*
Bitake, *to deliver, delivered.*
Blinne, *to cease, stop.*
Boon, *a bone.*
Brenning, *burning.*
Brente, *burnt.*
Bronde, *a brand.*
Bush, *to lie in ambush.*
Bushment, *an ambuscade.*
But, but if, *unless, except.*

C.

Chaas, (from cheese) *chose.*
Caitiffness, *meanness.*
Can, *to know.*
Certes, *certainly.*
Chambred, *chamferred.*
Champ, (Fr.) *field.*
Charytes, *chariots.*
Chastise, *to amend.*
Chese, cheese, *to choose.*
Chesell, *chisel, bodkin.*
Clepe, *to call.*
Cleped, cleaped, clept, *called.*

Cleuchis, *cloughs, deep valleys, or ravines in the hills.*
Commyxion, *commixture.*
Comprize, *to undertake.*
Con, conne, *to know.*
Conning, cunning, *knowledge.*
Contact, *conflict.*
Contrary, *directed towards.*
Costlew *costly.*
Could, *knew.*
Covenable, *convenient.*
Covetyse, *covetousness.*
Craft, *art.*
Curtarse, *courteous.*

D.

Dagging, *slitting, cutting into slips.*
Delices, (Fr.) *delights.*
Depart, *to divide.*
Despoil, *to take off, or divest.*
Dicts, *sayings.*
Diffense, *prohibitions.*
Distraught, *to distract, torture; distracted, &c.*
Do, sometimes for *done.*
Done, *to do.*
Donet, *introduction.*
Doom, *judgment, reason.*
Dou, *dove.*
Doubt, *fear; to fear.*
Doubted, *feared.*
Doubty, *doubtful.*
Dure, *to last, extend.*
Dured, *lasted, extended.*
Duresse, *durance.*

E.

Eft, *oft.*
Egal, (Fr.) *equal.*

Either, *or, either.*
Elle, *else.*
Else, *either.*
Encheson, *chance.*
Enpight, *infixed ; inherent ; from pike,* (Sax.) *to pitch.*
Enseign, or ensign ; ensigned, *to teach ; taught.*
Enseignments, *instructions.*
Entendement, *thought, destiny.*
Everyche, *each.*
Extraught, *extracted.*
Eyen, *eyes.*

F.

Fall, *event, accident.*
Farder, *loth, more loth.*
Ferde, *fear.*
Ferdenesse, *fear, dread.*
Ferre, *far.*
Fond, *to engage, try, endeavour.*
For, *because.*
For the nonce, *on purpose, by design.*
Forlet, *deserted.*
Foryet, *to forget.*
Freres, (Fr.) *friars.*
Fro, *from.*
Frotynge, *rubbing ?* from *frotter* (Fr.) *to rub ?*

G.

Gar, *to make, cause.*
Gart, *made, caused.*
Gardaine, *guardian.*
Gay, *light, trifling.*
Gear, *stuff, matter.*
Ghe, *ye, yea.*
Git, *yet.*
Glosse, *gloss, lie.*

Goilk, *the cuckoo.*
Gon, gone, goo, goon, *to go.*
Gridelstede, *girdle's place; the waist.*
Grome, *child, offspring.*
Guarish, *to cure; from guerir?* (Fr.)
Gurged, *gorged.*

H.

Haly, *holy.*
Han, *have.*
Heare, *hair.*
Hede, *care, caution.*
Hegh, *to high, exalt.*
Hele, *health.*
Hem, *them,*
Her, for *their.*
Herie, *to master; i. e. to treat as a master or superior.*
Hests, *commands.*
Hete, *to ordain, order, command.*
Highte, *called,* or *is called.*
Hogy, *to raise, exalt.*
Hostel, *house.*
Hose, *hollow.*
Housel, (*part.*) houseld, *to administer the Lord's supper.*
How so be it, *notwithstanding.*
Hungerand, *hungry.*
Hutch, *originally a coffer, or a recess in a barn, to contain corn thrashed, but not winnowed.*

I.

Indigne, *unworthy.*
Into, sometimes used for *unto.*

J.

Jubarde, *to endanger, put in jeopardy,*
Jubardy, *jeopardy.*

K.

Kembed, *combed.*
Ketylde, *tickled, stimulated.*
Kind, *nature.*
Kine, *cows.*
Kinreden, *kindred.*
Knave, *a male, a servant, a lacquey.*
Kunnen, *to know, knew.*

L.

Largess, *beneficence.*
Lauly, *lowly.*
Leave, *to omit.*
Left, *left off.*
Lese, *to lose.*
Lesing, *lying.*
Let, letted, *to hinder, hindered.*
Lewd, *mean, low.*
Licorousness, *licorishness, lechery.*
Lifelode, *livelihood, lifehold.*
Light, *easy, trifling.*
Lightly, *easily.*
Liking, *pleasure.*
Lofy, *to elevate, exalt.*
Longeth, *belongeth.*
Louage, *praise; louange* (Fr.)
Lust, *desire.*

M.

Malvesye, *malmsey.*
Manche, (Fr.) *a sleeve.*
Massagers, *messengers.*
Maugre, *in spite of.*
Medle, *to mix.*
Medling, *mixture, mingling.*
Megre, *thin, to thin, diminish.*
Mesprise, (Fr.) *to despise.*

Mete, *meat.*
Miche, *much.*
Minish, *to diminish.*
Misprision, *contempt.*
Mokell, *much.*
Mo, moo, *more.*
Mowe, *may.*

N.

Nakeres, *nacara,* (Du Cange) *a kind of brazen drum used in the cavalry.*
Nat, *not.*
Natheless, *nevertheless.*
Ne, *nor, neither.*
Neigh, nighen, *to approach.*
Nere, *never.*
Neyer, *neither.*
Noblesse, *nobleness.*
Non, none, *not, no.*
Norie, *a foster-child.*
Noryce, *a nurse, nourice,* (Fr.)
Notoirly, *notoriously.*
Novelries, *novelties.*
Nought, *not.*
Nouther, *neither.*
Noyous, *noxious.*

O.

Or, *ere, before.*
Ounding, *guarding, like waves.*
Oxee, *a small hedge-sparrow.*

P.

Panions, *companions.*
Party, *a part.*
Pastaunce, *pastime.*
Peitrels, *breast-plates for horses.*

Perpended, *weighed.*
Playfers, *brethren.*
Pouncing, *punching with a bodkin.*
Prece, *press, throng.*
Preu, *prudent.*
Privy, *intimate.*
Privalty, *intimacy.*
Proprieties, *properties.*
Psever, *to persevere.*
Punition, *punishment.*
Purpure, *purple.*

Q.

Quite, *to requite.*

R.

Rammashe, *collected;* from *ramasser* (Fr.) *to collect.*
Rede-schank, *a field-fare.*
Renning, *running.*
Repreved, *reproved.*
Rere-suppers, *late-suppers.*
Royalme, royamme, (Fr.) *realm, kingdom.*

S.

Salle, saul, *the soul.*
Sauf, *save.*
Sauter, *the psalter.*
Scaut, *scarcely.*
Scholen, shulen, *shall.*
Schrifs, *confessions.*
Sclough, *slew.*
Scute, *a French gold coin, the same with their escuts, or ecus d'or, or gold crown-piece, of the value of 3s. 4d.*
Seemliche, *seemly, beautiful, most beautiful.*
Selden, *seldom.*

Semblable, *similar.*
Semblably, *in like manner.*
Semblant, *appearance.*
Servage, *slavery, bondage.*
Settle, *a seat.*
Seyn, *to say.*
Sheet, *shut.*
Shend, shenden, *to hurt, wrong, violate.*
Shrive, shriven, *to confess to a priest.*
Sic, *so, such.*
Sicker, *sure.*
Sith, syth, syn, sithen, sithin, sithence, *since.*
Slee, *to slay.*
Soth, *truth.*
Sparbyl, *to scatter.*
Sparbyled, *scattered.*
Sparthe, *an axe, or halbert,* securis Danica (Du Cange).
Sperkeland, *scattered.*
Spilt, *lost.*
Spouse-breach, *matrimonial infidelity.*
Straitness, *strictness.*

T.

Talys, *tallies, taxes.*
Tamys, *the Thames.*
Targe, *a shield; to shield.*
Tene, *grief, sorrow; to make sorry.*
Tentifly, *attentively.*
There, used sometimes for *where.*
Thilk, *that those.*
Tho, *they, those, the, then.*
Toforne, *before.*
Toke, *to take.*
Tome, *empty.*
To sooner, for *the sooner.*
Trow, *to know, supposed.*
Trowed, *knew supposed.*

Truandals, *truants, stragglers.*
Trusse, *to thrust.*
Tuechitis, *a lapwing.*
Tytlis, *standing images.*

U.

Umthought, *mindful.*
Uncovenable, *unbecoming.*
Unethe, *scarcely.*
Unweeting, *unknowing.*

V.

Vustable, *inflammable passionate?*
Vylete, *vileness.*
Vyse, *advice, accord.*

W.

Warlye, *warlike.*
Wene, *to think, imagine.*
Weshen, *to wash.*
Wete, *to know.*
Whereas, used sometimes for *whereat.*
Wist, *knew.*
Wisten, *to know.*
Wit, wyte, wytene, *to know, or understand.*
Withold, witheld, *to detain, detained.*
Woll, *will.*
Wood, *wrath.*
Worthly, *worthy.*
Wost, *knowest.*
Wot, wote, *to know, knew.*
Wyrche, from *werke, to work, or fret.*

Y.

Yamge, *fane, temple?*
Yat, yt, *that.*

Yave, *gave.*
Ye, *he, the, you.*
Yede, yode, *went.*
Yeman, *a yeoman.*
Yerde, *a yard.*
Yese, *these.*
Yeve, *to give, given.*
Ying, *a thing.*
Yo, *those, them.*

Z.

Zit, *yet.*

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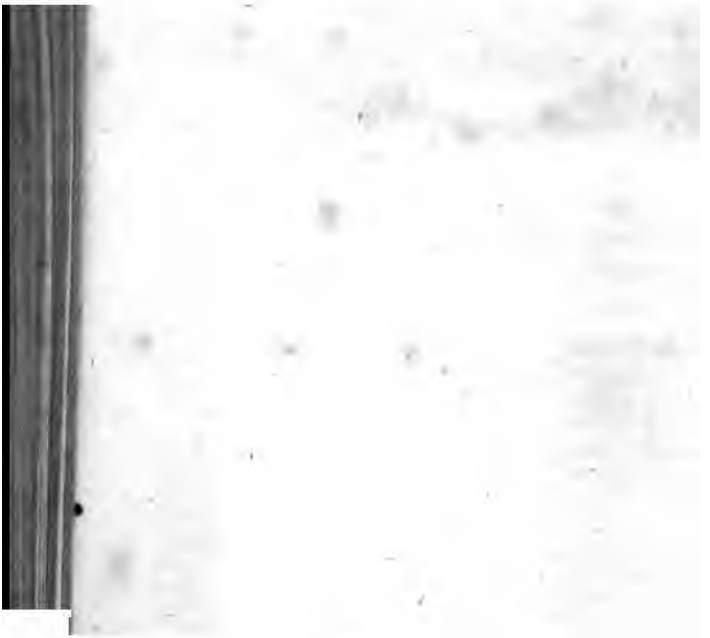

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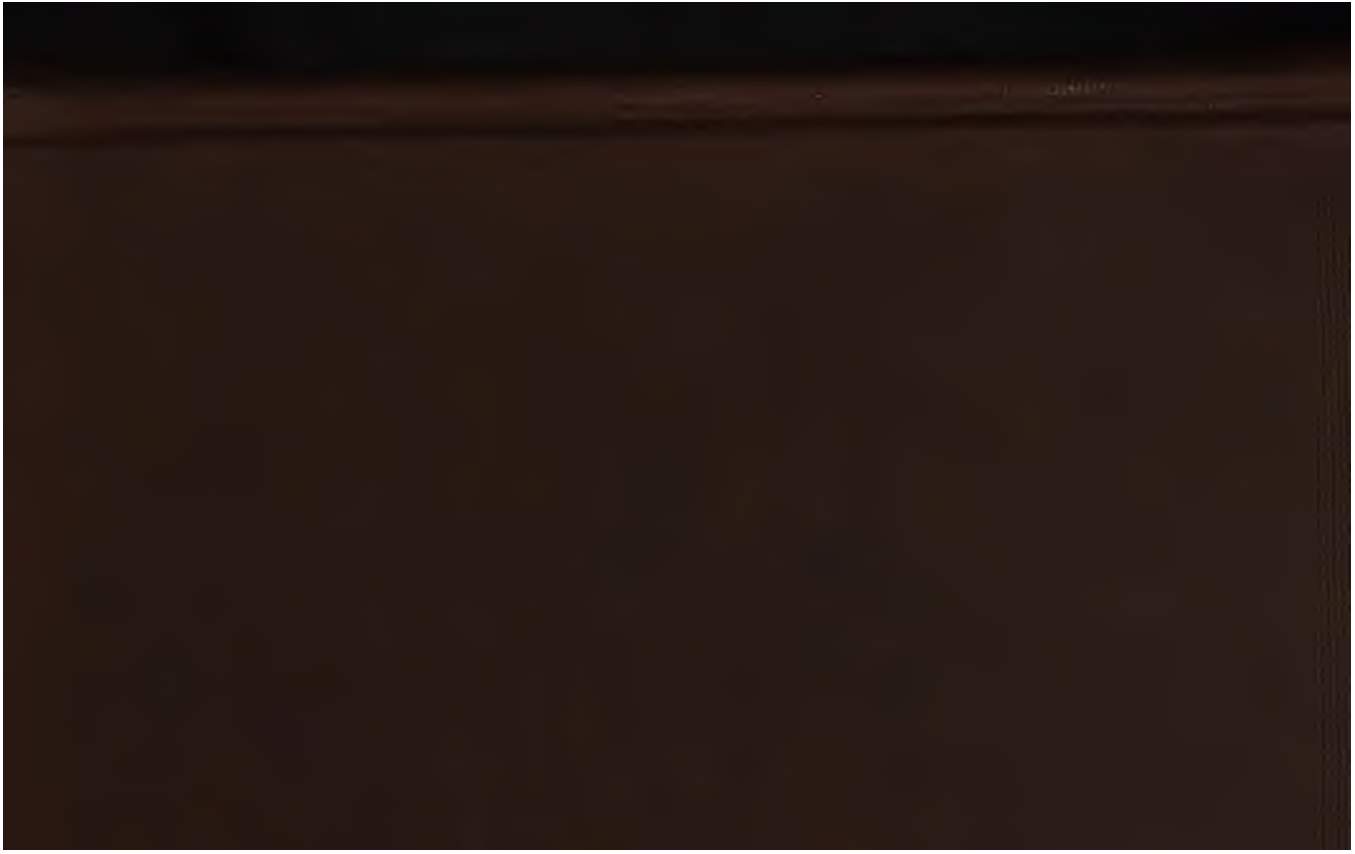
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